THE NEW PURITAN

New England Two Hundred Years Ago

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

LIFE OF ROBERT PIKE

THE PURITAN WHO DEFENDED THE QUAKERS, RESISTED CLERICAL DOMINATION, AND OPPOSED THE WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTION

By JAMES S. PIKE

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PREFACE.

It may be that no explanation is necessary for this little volume. Yet, perhaps, it is proper to say that it is prepared for a narrower circle than the multitude of miscellaneous readers.

It is more likely to interest the numerous descendants of its subject, and the people of the locality where he lived, than the general public. But we shall be mistaken if there be not among the latter some who will appreciate the merits of the exceptional character here outlined, and relish its fresh and original flavor.

The poet Whittier thus writes of him:

"From all that I have read, and from the traditions of the valley of the Merrimac, I have been accustomed to regard Robert Pike as one of the wisest and worthiest of the early settlers of that region. . . . .

"He was by all odds the most remarkable personage of the place and time. . . . .

"I shall look with interest for thy book. I have always had an admiration for the subject of it, and in my story [Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal] I endeavored to do justice to him."

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THE NEW PURITAN.

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT PIKE.—SUMMARY OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Robert Pike, of Salisbury, Massachusetts, was born in England some time before the 17th of March, in the year 1616, and died in Salisbury, December 12th, 1706, in the 91st year of his age.

So far as we have been able to discover, all private records and recollections of our subject have passed into oblivion with the lapse of years. The only knowledge respecting him that remains to us is derived from occasional facts and references to be met with in published history, from such of his letters as have been preserved in the archives of Massachusetts, and from the unpublished records of his time. From these sources we have endeavored to construct a narrative of the principal facts of his life. More can hardly be expected in regard to a person who lived two hundred years ago, who has, up to the present time, been without a biographer, and of whom, so far as we know, no person, friend or foe, has preserved a single private memorial.

Robert Pike was engaged in three conspicuous controversies during his life; and it is principally his part in

these that lifts him above the generality of his contemporaries, and challenges the attention of posterity.

The first was his arraignment, in 1653, by the General Court (or Legislature) of Massachusetts, for his hostile criticism on its action toward the Quakers. For this offence he was tried, convicted, fined, and disfranchised by that body.

The second was his resistance, in 1675, to the dogmatic authority of the clergy, in the person of his pastor, the well-known John Wheelwright, and his excommunication therefor.

The third was his opposition to the Salem witchcraft prosecutions of 1692, and his triumphant argument against them.

The significant fact in all these cases is, that he was an eminently orthodox and conservative man, and prosecuted his opposition in each instance from a puritanic point of view.

It does not appear that he entertained sentiments that could be deemed heretical by the Puritan clergy of the time, even in his defence of Quaker preaching, or his maintenance of the more general doctrines of toleration and personal independence. He simply held advanced views on "civil and ecclesiastical liberty" which finally became dominant.

He did not affiliate with the radical school of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson; and on the occasion of the contest between Winthrop and Mrs. Hutchinson's friend, Sir Henry Vane, for Governor, he made the journey from Salisbury to Boston to cast his vote for the former. He held the medium between the bigot on the one side and the truculent radical on the other.

He opposed Wheelwright, and the arbitrary devices of

his church polity, to the extent of incurring excommunication. But he enforced his readmittance to the church through the soundness of his opinions, and without retracting his judgments or receding from his positions.

When the Legislature disfranchised him for his condemnation of their conduct, he did not take the attitude of a martyr and depart out of the jurisdiction, but stood his ground till public opinion forced a revocation of his sentence.

It is to be remarked that in all his controversies Robert Pike stood almost alone. He at first represented no party, but only individual independence. He held his advanced views in opposition to a society with which he sympathized, and whose general objects he earnestly aimed to promote. He did not dislike the organization of that society or its method of action. In nothing was he at variance with it, except its lack of intelligence and its want of toleration. He was as anxious for its development on the line of its departure as any of its leaders. He did not wish to change its purposes or modify its principles. He opposed it merely to save it from the effects of its own errors.

Notwithstanding the opinions held by Robert Pike, and the state of semi-hostility in which they placed him toward the ruling powers of the community, his public services were always in demand, being intermitted only at short intervals during a period of nearly fifty years. He appears for the first time as member of the General Court*

* The officers of government provided for by the Massachusetts charter were a governor, deputy governor, and court or board of eighteen assistants, though their actual number was seldom more than ten or twelve. These were the magistrates of the colony, acting both as supreme law-makers and judges. The "Great and General Court"

in 1648, at the age of thirty-two; the records show him on duty in the Board of Assistants as late as 1696, forty-eight years afterward, and he had served in one branch or another of the government during a very large part of the whole intervening time. When a popular election of magistrates took place after the revolution of 1688 in England, and the deposition of Andros in New England in the following year, we find him returned near the head of the poll; and when afterward the list of appointees to fill the same offices was decided upon by the crown, Robert Pike's name is found among them, though the names of several of his conspicuous colleagues were omitted. Thus fully were his claims to regard recognized at once by the popular voice and the conservators of public authority.

During the puritanic rule of New England in the seven-

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originally consisted of these functionaries and the whole body of freemen, meeting together once in three months. (By vote of the General Court, in 1631, none were thereafter allowed to take the "freeman's oath" but church members, and by 1676 the effect of this measure was to disfranchise a large portion of the people.) The freemen were to have a voice in making or confirming laws; but their numbers soon becoming unwieldly, the magistrates ceased to submit laws to them, promulgating and administering them without their concurrence, and confining the functions of the freemen practically to the election of assistants when vacancies occurred. These usurpations occasioned a great popular ferment, and in 1634 the freemen of the eight towns then existing elected each three deputies to represent their grievances. These deputies, sustained by the popular voice, soon compelled the magistrates, in violation of the charter, to recognize them and their successors (their number being afterward reduced to two from each town) as a permanent representative body, and to consent to the annual election of all officers. The magistrates, however, retained all their judicial powers, and the right of a negative upon the action of the deputies. In 1635 a governor's council was established, consisting of an indefinite number of members appointed for life, but possessing no independent authority.

teenth century, it was easy to be popular and influential by supporting all the dogmas and opposing none of the acts of the ruling powers. But it is something exceptional to find a man of mark faithfully adhering to the body with which his independent convictions associated him, who yet set his face like a flint against some of its most cherished views of practical duty. It was not a case of merely theoretical diversity, such as abounded in those days, but one where practical action was involved in the development of a new and experimental society.

John Wheelwright denounced the early Puritan administration of Massachusetts in terms of violent opprobrium, and insisted loudly upon his views of reform, and then, after long exile, came back and confessed his errors, and humbly begged readmission to the circles he had spurned. He received pardon for his offences on condition of changing his ways and behaving properly in the future, and was thus restored to fellowship, after an experience which was at once a shock to his independence and a humiliation to his pride.

Roger Williams, in his opposition to the Puritan idea and practice, lost caste and influence, and was forced out of the jurisdiction for contumacy. And yet it would appear that Roger Williams went no further in behalf of religious toleration than did Robert Pike in the act for which he was tried, condemned, fined and disfranchised. But Pike did not leave the jurisdiction, did not promise any reform in his ways, his opinions or his methods, and did not allow himself to be driven from his post; and when the last crucial trial of his intelligence and his independence came, he was there to enter his protest against the headlong fanaticism of the witchcraft proceedings.

The diabolical energy of those prosecutions affrighted

everybody into yielding support to them, or at least into studied silence respecting them. Mr. Upham, the author of the "History of the Salem Witchcraft," testifies that not a voice comes down to us of deliberate and effective hostility to the movement, except that of Robert Pike, in his cool, close, and powerful argumentative appeal to the judges who were trying the witchcraft cases. This heroic act seems to have been but one of several similar efforts by him to convince those jurists of the injustice of their course. It stands out against the deep blackness of those proceedings, like a pillar of light upon a starless midnight sky. Confronting these judges stood this sturdy old man, his head whitened with the frosts of seventy-six winters, possessing a deeply religious character, and with convictions moulded into fixed and rigid forms by the views and practices of a lifetime. He was hampered by his belief in the power of the devil and his imps, living in an invisible world close to our own, to vex and ruin the bodies as well as the souls of men; accepting in full faith, like nearly all his contemporaries, the most literal interpretation of those passages of Scripture supposed to bear upon the subject. This old man, seeing a prosecution apparently devised by pious Christian men to destroy the devil and all his works, might well be expected not to be willing to interfere with such a warfare upon the great enemy of souls. He might have more readily taken the ground assumed by the venerable Higginson, one of the most eminent preachers of Massachusetts, that he "was too old to understand the case," and declined to express an opinion; or of old Governor Bradstreet, who, though believed to be opposed to the prosecutions, did nothing to prevent them. Through all his pious surroundings, piercing through the mists and mysteries of the case, Robert Pike clearly saw the injustice

of the methods pursued, and endeavored to make the judges see it also. The judges might have told him, as they told Philip English, the richest and most active merchant of Salem, when he tried to persuade them to acquit his wife, that this showed he was a witch himself, and have arrested him on the charge, as English was arrested. But all such considerations, though prevailing with others, were discarded by him. He laid before the court his argument against the convictions, made not from the stand-point of our times, which would be a comparatively easy task, but from that of the judges and prosecutors themselves. He demonstrated that there was no legal way of convicting a witch, even according to the laws and beliefs of those times.

Mr. Upham, in his elaborate history already referred to, expresses his admiration of this argument, and notes also a sense of humor exhibited by its author in the taking of some of the witchcraft depositions, which, as Assistant, it became his duty to do. In the famous case of Susanna Martin, a number of the depositions were taken by Robert Pike, and the same peculiarity is observable in some others.

Whether in the exercise of his office in the one case, or in his notable letters and argument in the other, we cannot fail to be impressed with the same evidence of a mind apparently no more under the influence of the prevailing thought of the times than is the reader himself. He rises above the clouds of doubt and delusion that environ the subject, the witnesses, the prosecutors, and the judges, as well as the ministers like Cotton Mather, who urged on the proceedings by their counsel and their presence at the trials and executions. While others may have seen and felt as he did, of this we are certain, that no one but Robert Pike rose to the demands of the situation, and pro-

claimed his opposition by a formal and thorough exposition. The great merit of this position, so far as yet appears, belongs solely to him, and no man in New England of the seventeenth century enjoys so lofty an honor as this.

In private life he seems always to have been engaged in improving his fortunes; and the gradual disposition of a large estate for those times, in the closing years of his life, among his heirs, shows that he lived and died in comparative affluence. He educated one of his sons, the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, at Harvard College; and he defrayed the expenses of a medical education for his grandson, Robert.

Up to a very late period of his life, he often appears as a guardian and director in the affairs of others. He was one of the original proprietors of the island of Nantucket, before its settlement, and had pecuniary interests there at the time of his decease. Thomas Macy, the first settler on that island, went from Salisbury, and was one of the obnoxious men involved in the action of the Massachusetts Legislature when it fined and disfranchised Major Pike.

In 1690, at the age of seventy-four, we find him defending Colonel Benjamin Church, the renowned Indian fighter, from the censures cast upon his expedition into Maine in that year. Robert Pike was the commander-in-chief east of the Merrimac, and Church acted under and obtained part of his military force from him. But Church failed to find the Indians at Sagadahock, the Kennebec, or elsewhere in the east, and he was compelled to return without the usual trophies, which his great prowess had encouraged the public always to expect from his expeditions. He was received coldly, and made to feel severely the loss of his prestige and popularity. Church complains bitterly of this in his autobiography, and gives a letter which he wrote to Robert

Pike, from whom he says he received a friendly and satisfactory answer, which he had lost. It now appears that Pike also wrote a letter to Governor Hinkley, of Plymouth Colony, whose troops were under Church's command, defending Church, which has lately appeared in the publication of the Hinkley papers.

It is evident that Robert Pike was a ready and copious writer; but we have to lament the loss of most of his productions. Neither have we any record of the speeches and arguments which we have reason to believe he was in the habit of making. In his controversy with the Legislature, it is reported of him that he declared himself ready to make good his charge that the majority of that body had violated their oaths and the principles of "civil and ecclesiastical liberty." And, from his management of the witchcraft argument, we may suppose that, when called before that body, he did make the charge good in an effective manner.

And so, also, in the case of John Wheelwright, his pastor, who excommunicated him from the Church, only to be compelled to receive him back again. There was here an opportunity for a freedom of speech agreeable to his temperament, of which we may suppose he availed himself. And, seeing the result, it is not difficult to imagine that the distinguished controversialist who occupied the pulpit found his match in his truculent parishioner.

To have been able to see and appreciate, so well as he did, at his epoch, the limitations of civil and religious authority; to have measured so accurately the just claims of the citizen to individual freedom; and, above all, to have been able to distinguish the claims of law and justice when beset by religious frenzy, and swayed by an overwhelming popular delusion, which bore along the highest names in its ghastly procession; these traits of his character consti-

tute a claim to distinction which we think will long be recognized.

It is the fate of ordinary public men to fall into forgetfulness with the lapse of time. They only escape oblivion who, from force of circumstances, associate their names and fame with views and principles of undying interest and importance, which command the notice and sympathy of every recurring generation. This fortune, we think, belongs to Robert Pike, and thus we believe his figure is one which is to emerge into yet greater distinctness with the progress of years.

CHAPTER II.

SPIRIT OF THE TIME.

We shall do but faint justice to our subject if we fail to take into consideration the imperious claims of authority embodied in government that existed two hundred years ago, even when springing from quasi-popular sources. Since that period the modifications of those claims have been immense in all countries. Then the civil authority was offensively dictatorial in its commands. No individual outside of the ruling power had any rights with which government could not meddle; and to attempt to modify this idea, or the practice under it, was to incur official displeasure and punishment. In the seventeenth century, the first century of our political existence, what we now call the rights of man were not only undefined and unrecognized, but almost unknown. It is needless to recur to the practice of the Continental powers in their treatment of the humbler class of their subjects, when not even the princely families and nobles could protect themselves from the outrages of royal authority. And in England, at the same time and later, we know how men like Algernon Sidney and John Bunyan either had their lives taken, or suffered imprisonment, for no greater offences than expressing certain abstract views in regard to government or religion. As L'Escarbot, the historian of one of the earlier expeditions to our shores, said at that time (1607), when trying to regulate his conduct so as to make it acceptable to the

government in France, "it was necessary to keep in a very straight path, if one would escape a visit from the gendarmes of either the civil or the priestly authority."

This was just as true in England as in France, and true to a greater extent here in New England than we like to acknowledge. To be sure, the excuse here, drawn from example abroad, and from what were believed to be exacting domestic necessities, was to a great extent well founded. But, however this may have been, the peremptory character of even Massachusetts' semi-popular government admits of no question; and to face its hostility was an act of temerity in which few engaged, and from which very few of those who did undertake it emerged unscathed. The men and women who opposed the rule of the Puritans, whether Mary Dyer and Anne Hutchinson, or Roger Williams and John Wheelwright, were swept away as effectually as if they had contested their claims with the Stuarts or the Bourbons. The Puritans were eminently humane, as compared with the best portions of European society of their day, and were never guilty of anything so bad as the atrocities practised in England and Scotland toward the Dissenters, as late as the Revolution of 1688. Their government was clemency itself when contrasted with that of England in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the arm of their power was both long and strong, and whoso opposed its exercise was regarded and treated as a criminal, who must be summarily dealt with in behalf of truth, justice, and religion. It was a period of history, both at home and abroad, when the average citizen or subject could secure immunity only by a discreet, quiet, and complete obedience.

It was the time when Russell and Sidney had been beheaded for slight civil offences, and the powerful Univer-

sity of Oxford had declared that the doctrine that civil authority is derived from the people, was "seditious and atheistic, and the parent of rebellion." It was the time when such men as Jeffreys were judges of political offences, and when the only doctrine tolerated was that of unconditional submission; when "speaking ill" was enough for the arraignment and condemnation of pious souls like Baxter, and when every man suspected of entertaining liberal ideas was silenced or punished. In the language of Charles James Fox, it was "a period of convictions against evidence, sentences against law, enormous fines, and cruel imprisonments."

We, who live in happier times, cannot appreciate the effects of such a condition of things upon the currents of thought in practical life and in learned circles, or upon the conduct of individual men. The new political opinions were yet shapeless and unfledged. Religious freedom was itself scarcely more than a theory. Even its most notable advocates were at loggerheads. The great reformers, Roger Williams and George Fox, were open enemies; Williams violently opposing the Quakers, though himself a dissenter of the Dissenters, and the pious Fox retorting by calling him a "lying slanderer." It was extremely difficult to know the truth, dangerous to preach it, and fatal to insist upon it against the prevailing opinion. Genuine toleration had no foothold anywhere.

The sentiment in regard to the Quakers in Massachusetts is an example of the spirit of the times coming directly home to every man of that day. So moderate a man as Governor Endicott, speaking in behalf of the General Court of Massachusetts, and addressing himself to the king, Charles II., said: "Concerning the Quakers—open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity,

and from the Holy Scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itself, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our Church and State—we were constrained, for our own safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them, on pain of death."

Such was the condition of things confronting every man who felt impelled to speak or to act in resistance to civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. The liberty of speech, and the liberty of criticism and opposition, were the precise things that were denied. The man who contended for either had to do it in the spirit of a martyr, and risk a martyr's doom.

But, bad as this condition was, it was doubly intensified at the period of the witchcraft prosecutions. These were ostensibly founded upon a holy effort to frustrate the machinations of the great enemy of souls. It was a war against the devil and his imps. For a man to resist such a prosecution was to ally himself with Satan, and proclaim himself an instrument of the powers of darkness. To resist the civil and ecclesiastical powers in any of their temporal proceedings was rash and dangerous enough. To oppose them in their conflict with hell itself was madness. It was to court immolation, not only by the decree of the court, but by popular fury.

The late eminent jurist, Mr. Justice Story, in speaking of the belief in witchcraft at this period, observes: "It counted in its train philosophers as well as enthusiasts; it was graced by the learning of prelates, as well as by the countenance of kings; the law supported it by its mandates, and the purest judges felt no compunction . . . . in enforcing it."

Watson says, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," page 228: "Six hundred persons were executed in France, in 1609, for

the alleged crime of witchcraft. In 1634 Grandiere, a priest of Loudon, in France, was burned for bewitching a whole convent of nuns. In 1654 twenty women were executed in Bretagne for witches."

It is recorded that in 1644 and 1645 upward of one hundred convictions for witchcraft took place in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, in England, before a commission, of which the Earl of Warwick was the head, and which was supported by Dr. Calamy. Of these, sixteen were hanged at Yarmouth, fifteen at Chelmsford, and sixty at various other places. Dr. Clark, who examined the records, says more than three thousand persons were executed for witchcraft in the century preceding 1670. It was as late as 1735 before the statutes against witchcraft in Scotland were repealed, and the repeal gave great offence to a large body of Christians there.

Sir Matthew Hale presided on a witchcraft trial in 1664, and was supported by Sir Thomas Browne, who had previously signalized himself by writing a book entitled "An Inquiry into Vulgar Errors." Sir William Blackstone declared in his "Commentaries," in 1765, "that to deny the existence of witchcraft is to flatly contradict the revealed word of God, and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation has in its turn borne testimony."

Bentley, in his history, says of the witchcraft period:* "The torrent was irresistible. No life was safe. They who thought they saw the delusion did not expose it. None had courage to propose or apply relief." . . . . "The doctrine of invisible agency no one was bold enough to deny." In Salem, "terror was in every countenance, fear haunted every street."

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* Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st series, vol. vi., p. 265.

In the totally changed habits of thought that marks our era, in the perfect freedom of speech that we enjoy, it is difficult to fully appreciate, as it is hard to overrate, the intrepidity of spirit that was required to maintain the position taken by Robert Pike, alike in his earlier controversies as in his final opposition to the most malignant fanaticism of his times.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN PIKE.—HIS CHARACTER AND WILL.

John Pike, the father of Robert, came to this country from Southampton, in the *James*, in 1635, bringing five children. The records state that he came from Langford, England. There are numerous parishes of that name in the Old Country, and careful inquiries in each have thus far failed to reveal which of them is the one referred to. It is possible that the statement is erroneous, for at that period it was sometimes found expedient for persons of pronounced opinions, hostile to the governing powers, to leave the authorities in the dark as to the places of residence of the zealous Dissenters who were hastening out of the country. Mr. Savage says, in his "Genealogical Register:" "To evade the despicable tyranny of the regulation, a true description of the persons was sometimes concealed."

The description of John Pike as a "laborer from Langford" may be therefore mythical. It is clear that a part of it, at least, is inaccurate. Mr. Coffin, the historian of Newbury, remarks: "No laborer of those days had two such educated sons as Robert and John Pike, Jr., both men of marked prominence in the colony."

In the Essex County Court records of 1636, John Pike, Sr., appears as the attorney for Mr. Eson, plaintiff, *versus* Robert Coles, defendant, obtaining a verdict from the jury of £4 7*s.* 6*d.* damages, and 4*s.* cost. At Salem, in January, 1637, he is again present as attorney for Mr. Eson, and ob-

tains a verdict of £5 18*s.* 5*d.* These offices do not seem to come within the functions of a "laborer" of those days.

We find other recorded evidence showing him to have been a man of marked characteristics. On one occasion he is the subject of prosecution for rending the garment of a person who had excited his righteous indignation. Again, we discover a letter of his to a friend, exulting in a sermon he had heard advocating "the Congregational way." And we find him, also, to be very much in favor of a way of his own on several other occasions.

He was first at Ipswich, and afterward went to Newbury, where is found this record on the town-books: "Voted, that John Pike be fined 2*s.* for departing from the meeting without leave and contemptuously." This brief notice testifies as to what manner of man he was. If he was a "laborer," he very early made it manifest that he did not work in vineyards which did not suit him.

In his later years he removed to the town of Salisbury, whither his son Robert had preceded him in 1639, leaving his place in Newbury in the occupation of Samuel Moore, a tenant. Judging from the inventory of his property after his death, it appears that he died in good circumstances, in the same vocation at Salisbury that he had pursued at Newbury, that of husbandman.

Will of John Pike.

In the name of God, Amen. The last will and testament of John Pike, senior, being sick and weak in body, but of perfect memory, May 24th, 1654.

First, I will and bequeath my soul unto God in the Lord Jesus Christ, and my body to be buried in convenient burying-place, and my worldly goods to be bestowed as followeth:

First, I give my house and land at the old town at Newbury, both upland and meadow, with my privilege of common at

Newbury, unto my grandchild John Pike, the son of my eldest son John Pike, with that parcel of my land at the Little river; and in case the said John Pike do die without issue and before he is twenty-one years old, then the said land shall pass to his brother and sisters by equal portion; and if they fail, then it shall pass to the next of kin.

Also, I give that portion of my land at the new town [Salisbury] called by the name of the Pit, both upland and meadow, unto my grandchild John Pike, the son of my son Robert Pike; and in case the said John Pike die without issue or before the age of twenty-one, the said lands shall pass to his sisters; and if they fail, then it shall pass to the next of kin.

Also, I give unto my daughter Dorothy twenty pounds, to be equally divided betwixt her and her children by equal portions.

Also, I give to my daughter Ann twenty pounds, to be divided betwixt her and her children by equal portions.

Also, I give to my daughter Israel twenty pounds, to be divided betwixt her and her children by equal portions.

Also, I give to my daughter-in-law Mary, the wife of my son John, forty shillings; and I give to her children, Joseph, Hannah, Mary, and Ruth, each of them, forty shillings.

Also, I give unto my daughter-in-law Sarah, the wife of my son Robert, forty shillings; and I give to her children, Sarah, Dorothy, Mary, and Elizabeth, each of them, forty shillings.

Also, I give my tenant Samuel Moore the bedstead that he hath of mine.

Also, I do appoint my two sons, John and Robert, to be my executors, to see my will performed, and my debts and all charges paid so far as my estate will reach; and the remainder of my estate, within door and without door, shall be divided betwixt my two said executors, my sons John Pike and Robert Pike, by equal portions, all debts and charges being first discharged and paid.

Furthermore, my will is that in case my sons John Pike and Robert Pike should remove out of the country, with their families after my death, before my said grandchildren are of the age of twenty-one years, that then it shall be in the power of my said sons John and Robert to dispose in the way of sale or

otherwise of the said land for the benefit of my said grandchildren respectively; that is to say, my son which is the father shall dispose of that land which is by me given to his own child, and so both respectively. JOHN PIKE.

Henry Monday,
The mark of ℛ John Rolf, } *Witnesses.*

This will was proved by oath of Mr. Henry Monday and John Rolf to be the last will and testament of John Pike, late of Salisbury, deceased, in the county court held at Hampton the 3d of the 8th month, 1654. THOMAS BRADBURY, *Rec'd.*

A True Inventory of the Estate of John Pike, senior, being deceased the 26th of May, 1654, *taken by Mr. Henry Monday, John Rolf, and George Goldwire, May the 29th*, 1654.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis: His house and land at the old town of Newbury	60	0	0
It.: His land at the new town	60	0	0
It.: Young horse and one mare and bridle and saddle	37	0	0
It.: 7 cows and young cattle of two years' vantage	39	0	0
It.: One bed and appurtenances	7	0	0
It.: One new broadcloth suit	3	3	4
It.: One stuff suit and waistcoat	2	2	0
It.: One cloth suit	1	4	0
It.: One cloth coat	2	10	0
It.: Shirt, handkerchiefs, and bands and other linen	2	15	0
It.: 4 pair of stockings and 2 hats	1	14	0
It.: A pair of boots and 2 pair of shoes	1	2	0
It.: 2 pair of gloves and a pair of mittens	0	4	0
It.: One brass pan, one warming-pan, one frying-pan	1	10	0
It.: One brass pot, one brass posnet	1	1	0
It.: One brand-iron, one andiron	0	6	0
It.: A hatchet, a cutting-knife to cut hay, and other small things.	0	6	6
It.: A chest, a box, and other lumber	0	16	0
It.: In books	1	0	0
It.: In debts	7	0	0
It.: A cheese-press and some other lumber	0	13	0
Sum total...	230	6	10

Henry Monday.
John ℬ Rolf, mark.
The mark of 𝒞 George Goldwire.

John Pike and Robert Pike, being executors to John Pike, Sr., as by his will doth appear, did testify upon oath, in the court held at Hampton the 3d of the 8th month, 1654, this to be a true inventory of the said John Pike, Sr.'s, estate, to their best knowledge. By me, THO. BRADBURY, *Rec'd.*

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT PIKE'S EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE.—BECOMES A FREEMAN.—APPOINTMENT AS MAGISTRATE AND COMMISSIONER.—CHOSEN A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COURT.

Robert Pike was nineteen years of age when brought to this country by his father, in 1635. He therefore must have received his education in England. He wrote in a bold, flowing hand, and apparently with great facility, some of his longest letters to the government being dated at "midnight." The style and matter of his composition lead us to the conclusion that he was as well instructed as the leading men of his time, and that his education was ample to afford full scope for the display of his strong natural powers, as well as the sturdy moral graces of a religiously taught pupil of the puritanic school.

At the age of twenty-one, March 17th, 1637, he took the oath of "freeman" and became a citizen, and was invested with all the rights that belonged to those who composed the governing body of the people; a class who, we are constrained to confess, were a clear minority of the whole population.

Two years afterward, in 1639, he joined a colony of sixty-five persons, who left Newbury, removed across the Merrimack river, and founded the "new town" of Salisbury, on its eastern bank. Here he remained during the rest of his life, a period of sixty-seven years. Of this new locality Hubbard, in his "History of New England," says: "Salisbury was well stored with meadow-lands and salt-marshes,

although the uplands were something sandy, and likely to be barren."*

He was twice married: first, on the 3d of April, 1641, to Sarah Sanders, by whom he had eight children; and second, in 1685, to Martha Goldwire, widow of George Goldwire, whence came no issue. The latter died February 26th, 1713, having survived her husband six years and two months.† He bequeathed his homestead to his grand-

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* The original list of the townsmen of Salisbury in the Book of Records is as follows:

Mr. Sam. Dudley,	Sam. Felloes,	Richd. North,
Mr. Wm. Worcester,	Wm. Sargent,	Abraham Morrill,
Mr. Francis Doane,	John Harrison,	Wm. Osgood,
Mr. Henry Byly,	Philip Challis,	Mr. Wm. Hook,
Edward French,	Luke Heard,	Mr. John Hall,
Richd. Wells,	Ant. Colby,	Thos. Rowell,
John Rolf,	John Bailey, Jr.,	John Dixon,
John Sanders,	Christian Brown,	Daniel Ladd,
Isaac Busnell,	Richd. Tingletary,	John Fuller,
John Severance,	Tho. Hawkesworth,	Thos. Carter,
Mr. Tho. Bradbury,	John Eyer, Sr.,	Enoch Greenleaf,
John Hodges,	Ant. Sadler,	Richd. Goodale,
Josiah Cobham,	Rodg. Eastman,	Richd. Currier,
Jarett Hodden,	John Stevens,	Joseph Moyes,
John Bayley, Sr.,	Robt. Fitts,	Andrew Greely,
Henry Brown,	Mr. Sam. Hall,	Ralph Blaisdall,
Mr. Christo. Batt,	John Hoyt,	Robt. Codman,
Robert Pike,	Wm. Holdred,	John Wheeler,
Wm. Partridge,	Tho. Barnett,	Tho. Macy,
Mr. Thos. Deemer,	John Ilsley,	Joseph Parker,
Mr. Henry Monday,	Wm. Allin,	John Coles.
George Carr,	Wm. Barnes,	

† The following petition of Major Pike, in his own handwriting, is extant among the court records of Essex County:

To the honorable County Court sitting at Salem, June the 30th, 1635, the subscriber hereof humbly presents to your knowledge and consideration as followeth, viz.:

That Mr. George Goldwire, late of Salisbury, did in his lifetime give unto his wife (who is now the wife of your petitioner) a certain estate of houses, lands, stock, and all sorts of movables, etc., with respect to jointure promised in marriage, and the same estate committed into the hands of the honored Major Saltonstall, as a feoffer in trust for the security thereof, and for his said wife's benefit and behoof (they having no children); and after this enfeoffment the said Goldwire dwelt on the said living, yet he had it as from

son Robert, son of the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, whom he had educated as a physician. This homestead, after the lapse of nearly two hundred and forty years, is still in the possession of descendants of his family of the same name.

Salisbury, incorporated October 7th, 1640, now became the frontier town of Massachusetts on the east. The first inhabitants fully recognized the dangers of this position, and originally went in large numbers to guard against them. The situation subjected them to Indian inroads, devastations, capture, and murder. From all of these the inhabitants of Salisbury from time to time suffered severely. Much of the correspondence of Robert Pike, embraced in these pages, relates to the trials and exertions of the people on this frontier, in their contests with the Indians; a frontier which gradually extended its lines across New Hampshire into Maine—first to York and Wells, beyond the Piscataqua, and then to Casco Bay and still farther east. During the sixty-seven years our subject covers, and for many more afterward, the lives of these early inhabitants were spent in almost incessant conflict with the savages, who, during the wars between England and France, were always aided by their French allies on the coast.

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and by the allowance of the said feoffer to his dying day, in which time there were several transactions by him whereby several debts were contracted; some to him and some from him remain, as do appear, which seems to be his proper estate, distinct from what was given his wife, and very needful to be looked after.

I do therefore humbly move that some order of this court may be given for the empowerment of some one or other to look after it; your subscriber being not willing to do it himself (or, however, not without order).

That you would be pleased to take cognizance of the case of the estate of my wife as aforesaid, and to direct me and my wife in what is incumbent upon us according to law to do for the . . . . . Since the death of the said Mr. Goldwire I have several times moved, but have yet received no answer from you, and so know not what is our duty to do in such case, which we would readily attend if we knew it. I cannot but think something should be done, your resolution whereof will much oblige your humble servant,

ROB'T PIKE.

It was a perilous period. It was often a struggle for mere physical subsistence. Famine often threatened, and sometimes came. The stealthy savage always dogged the footsteps of the early settler. The hand of oppression was always visible, and frequently felt, from over the sea. Dissenters from dissent perplexed their path. The stream of their progress was always turbid and uncertain, and it was hard to predict whither it would finally carry or land them. In our day the term frontiersman is the synonyme of all that is rude, and rough, and illiterate; and yet these Massachusetts Dissenters were frontiersmen for a long and weary period. But from their conflicts, both with savage and civilized enemies; from their struggles with poverty; from the oppressions of foreign rule; from the labors and trials of an effort at self-government hitherto new to mankind; from their ceaseless combats with an inhospitable climate and a sterile soil; from all their meagre and discouraging surroundings, they emerged at last in the front rank of refined and prosperous communities.

Robert Pike planted himself empty-handed, and began life as a husbandman, on the borders of the Salisbury marshes. Upland and meadow were meted out in moderate quantities to each of the original settlers, and reservations were made for subsequent comers, by the town authorities then and there established by popular vote, under the auspices and general direction of the central power of the colony.

Under date of 1644 the records of the General Court of Massachusetts, as its supreme legislative body was termed, contain this entry: "Ordered, that Samuel Dudley, Robert Pike, and John Sanders have power to end small causes at Salisbury." This was his first appointment to the magisterial function, with which he was continuously clothed

(with the brief interval of his disfranchisement by the Legislature) to the end of his life. In 1647 we find him approved by the same authority as the chosen lieutenant of the Salisbury train-band.

In the two following years of 1648 and 1649 he was elected a member of the General Court; and thus, at the age of thirty-two, commenced his long term of legislative service. At the second session, in 1649, he was appointed on the "Committee on Courts, the Treasury, Shires," etc.

In 1650 he was chosen one of three commissioners of Norfolk County, to sit as the assistants of the magistrates in holding the county courts.

In 1651 he was appointed by the General Court one of three commissioners to lay out and establish the line between the towns of Hampton and Exeter; and in 1652 he was selected, along with Messrs. Winslow and Bradbury, to establish the western boundary of the town of Hampton.

In the latter year a law was passed changing and establishing the coinage, fixing it at "twopence in a shilling of lesser value than the present English coin, of the just alloy of new sterling English money. All such coin shall be acknowledged to be the current coin of this commonwealth." This, it will be observed, reduced the New England pound to the value of about four dollars of our existing coinage. In speaking of money values after this time, this pound is to be taken as the standard, until another change was made, toward the close of the century, which established the value of the "pieces of eight reals of Spain, or dollars of Seville," at six shillings. This settlement exists to this day, making the New England pound (which, till within a recent period, was still used as a money of account) three dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents of our present coinage.

CHAPTER V.

ROBERT PIKE'S CONFLICT WITH THE GENERAL COURT.— HIS PROSECUTION AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.— ACTION OF THE TOWNS IN HIS BEHALF BY PETITION.—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PETITIONERS BY THE GENERAL COURT.— SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS OF THE PETITIONERS.— RIGHT OF PETITION ASSERTED.

In 1652–'3, at the age of thirty-six, Robert Pike suddenly found himself involved in a conflict with the General Court, of which he had previously been two years a member. Up to this period that august body had apparently never imagined such a thing as a hostile criticism of its proceedings. It seemed not only to regard its authority as supreme, but its judgments as infallible, and to hold that to question either was an audacious and criminal offence. When Robert Pike, therefore, broke the spell by denouncing a law which it had passed, and declaring "that those members who had voted for it had violated their oaths as freeman; that their act was against the liberty of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical, and that he stood ready to make his declaration good," the incensed and amazed body instantly arraigned the culprit who thus dared to insult their majesty. The law in question was one making it a misdemeanor for any one to preach to the people on the Sabbath who was not a regularly ordained minister of the Church. It was especially designed to restrain Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy, of Salisbury, from exhorting the people on the Sabbath, in the absence of a minister.

The following version of the story is from Mr. Coffin's "History of Newbury:"

September 7th [1653].

The Court, on hearing that Lieutenant Robert Pike declared that such persons as did act in making that law (restraining unfit persons from constant preaching) did break their oath to the country—for, said he, it is against the liberty of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical—declared that he had been guilty of defaming the General Court, and order that he shall be disfranchised, disabled from holding any public office, bound to his good behavior, and fined twenty marks, equal to thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence.

The law alluded to above was made to restrain Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy, formerly of Newbury, then of Salisbury, new town, from exhorting the people on the Sabbath in the absence of a minister. This order had no effect on Joseph Peasley, who still continued his preaching in defiance of the law, as we find, in the year 1659.

The punishment inflicted on Lieutenant Pike caused a great sensation in the neighboring towns. Petitions were presented to the General Court, containing the names of nearly all the citizens of Newbury, Andover, Hampton, Salisbury, etc., earnestly entreating the magistrates to remit the punishment and the fine imposed on Lieutenant Pike. The whole case is a very instructive one. It exhibits, on the one hand, the watchful jealousy of the people, in consequence of any real or supposed encroachments on their civil or ecclesiastical rights, and, on the other hand, the determination of the magistrates not to have their authority lightly called in question.

They immediately chose a committee to call the petitioners of the several towns together, ascertain their reasons for signing the petition, and make return. This was done in 1654, and eight Newbury men were bound to their good behavior in a bond of ten pounds each for signing the petition, the remainder having acknowledged their offence.

Macy was subsequently the first settler and founder of the settlement at Nantucket. Both he and Peasley were at this time members of a Baptist sect in Salisbury; and,

while not proclaiming themselves Quakers, were yet imbued with the sentiments of that sect, and practised its methods. To defend them, therefore, was to defend the hated and detested Quakers, and it was this thankless task that Robert Pike undertook.

At the session of the General Court called by the Government and Council, held at Boston, August 30, 1653, the opening record is as follows:

The Court being informed that, on the publishing the last court orders at Salisbury, Lieutenant Robert Pike demanded if that law (which was made to restrain unfit persons from constant preaching, etc.), whether that law was in force after the next General Court; to which answer being made that the Court had declared their mind therein; on which he replied that such persons as did act in making that law did break their oath to the country, or acted contrary, expressing the freeman's oath; for, said he, it is against the liberty of the country, both ecclesiastical and civil, and that he stood there ready to make it good; and further said that divers or several churches had called their members to account which did act in that law-making, and that some places were about to show their minds to the General Court about it.

[*Testimony.*]

By SAM. WINSLEY, SAM. FELLOWES, WILLIAM BUSNELL.

I do very well remember that Lieutenant Pike spoke words to that effect, as is above specified. Per me,

THO. BRADBURY.

The Court doth order that Lieutenant Robert Pike should be sent for with speed, to answer such things as are laid to his charge.

He was sent for by attachment accordingly, and appeared before the Court, September 7th, 1653. Then follows this record:

The Court, on a full hearing of the case about Lieutenant Robert Pike, and all the evidences that have testified in the

case, do judge that he is guilty of defaming the General Court, and do therefore order that the said Robert Pike shall be disfranchised, and disabled to bear any public office in town or commonwealth, and from pleading any case except his own in any court; and further, that he be bound to good behavior during the Court's pleasure, and be fined the sum of *twenty marks* to the country. Robert Pike accordingly bound himself in ten pounds to the treasurer, Mr. Richard Russell, on this condition: that he will be of good bearing till the next Court of Assistants.

Nevertheless, the Court proceeded at once to repeal the obnoxious order, which they did in the following terms:

Whereas the last session of this Court passed an order concerning public preaching without allowance, which order we understand is dissatisfactory to divers of the brethren whom we have cause to respect and tender; although we conceived the said order, rightly understood, to be safe and much conducive to the preservation of peace and truth among us, yet, that all jealousies may be removed, the Court doth repeal said order, and doth hereby enact that every person that shall publish and maintain any heterodox or dangerous doctrine shall be liable to be questioned and censured by the County Court where he liveth, according to the merit of his offence.

The proceeding against Robert Pike caused a great agitation in Salisbury and the neighboring towns of Hampton, Newbury, Haverhill, and Andover. Petitions were circulated and numerously signed in each, asking for the revocation of the sentence passed upon the offender, and were duly laid before the General Court at its next meeting the following spring. These petitions were looked upon as incendiary, and insulting to the legislative majesty, and provoked the following action of the Court:

The Court cannot but deeply resent that so many persons of several towns, conditions, and relations, should combine to-

gether to present such an unjust and unreasonable request as the revoking the sentence passed the last court against Lieutenant Pike, and the restoring him to his former liberty, without any petition of his own, or at least acknowledgment of his offence, fully proved against him, which was no less than defaming this Court and charging them with breach of oath, etc., which the petitioners call some words let fall by occasion. The Court doth therefore order, in this extraordinary case, that commissioners be appointed in the several towns—namely, Mr. Bradstreet for Andover and Haverhill, Captain Gerrish and Nicholas Noyes for Newbury, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Bradbury for Salisbury, and Captain Wiggan for Hampton—who shall have the power to call the said petitioners together, or so many of them at a time as they think meet, and require a reason of their unjust request, and how they came to be induced to subscribe to the said petition, and so to make return to the next session, that the Court may consider further how to proceed herein.

Acting under this commission, the committee proceeded upon their inquest. They went into the several towns and held their sessions, calling upon the offenders to appear before them and justify their conduct. The answers they obtained bespoke the characters of the signers. Some declared that they signed without reflection; some because they were asked to do so; some because they thought it was a proper thing to do; and generally they professed that they had no intention of doing anything improper, or of insulting the authority of the General Court. But among the petitioners of the several towns there were found a considerable number of refractory spirits, who either vouchsafed no explanation, or asserted their right to petition whenever they saw fit, and denied the right of anybody to interfere. These incorrigibles were duly reported, and turned over to the tender mercies of the General Court, by whom fifteen of them were bound over for trial, as follows:

At a session of the General Court held October, 1654, in the case respecting Lieutenant Robert Pike, and the petitioners in his behalf, the committee appointed to examine their several answers have made return of those persons who have not given satisfaction, whose names are herein written. The Court orders that those persons shall be summoned to give bond, in £10 to each man, to give answers for their offence before the County Courts.

The names of the fifteen humble immortals who thus early valiantly asserted the right of petition, so long contended for and so long denied—which has at length got itself fully recognized as among the natural rights of all free and enlightened subjects and citizens—deserve to be recorded. They are as follows:

Of Newbury—John Emery, Sr., John Hall, Benjamin Swett, John Bishop, Joseph Plummer, Daniel Thurston, Jr., Daniel Cheney, John Wolcot.

Of Salisbury—Samuel Hollis, Philip Challis, Joseph Fletcher, Andrew Greeley, George Morton.

Of Hampton—Christopher Hussey, John Sanborn.

We may not think much of this early and inconsiderable demonstration, but the vital issue of the right of petition was here, and the determined assertion of it was just as real to them as it has been in any case at any time since. Men and parties in subsequent generations may have received greater credit for their stubborn determination to secure this right, but those fifteen Massachusetts citizens were as genuine defenders of civil rights as any other fifteen of more pretension.

The fact should not be overlooked that it was only thirteen or fourteen years before this, in 1640, when petitions were presented to Parliament against King Charles's government, that the Earl of Strafford met the petitioners with the assertion that they should be tried by martial law and shot.

The petition to the General Court to relieve Robert Pike of the disabilities imposed by that body, and the report of the committee, are curious, as showing the temper and disposition of the little community thus called upon to show cause for the faith that was in them, touching the matter of "civil and ecclesiastical liberty." Robert Pike had started the question in regard to this subject, then but poorly understood. It is interesting to note what headway was made at this epoch. The rights of man had not then been popularly defined. Rousseau and Tom Paine had not been born. On the spiritual side some distinct views had been obtained; but these only involved the relations between man and his Maker. The pious soul felt an inborn conviction that with these government had surely nothing to do. But this was quite foreign to the question of the rights of the civil power over the individual man in his civic relations.

Every man, who did not confess to the omnipotent power of government, had to define for himself, with very little besides his own inner light to guide him, what his personal rights were in any matters that government undertook to regulate.

The General Court had planted itself on the comprehensive claim that nobody had a right to question its acts or to petition for their repeal. The Court, though but the representative of the whole body of the citizens, claimed the right of supreme rule over them. It is interesting to see how this claim was viewed by the uninstructed members of the community over whom the authority was now asserted.

It was such primary discussions as these that first gave vitality to the doctrines of civil liberty on this continent. We may safely say they derived no aid from the creed or

speculations of the philosophers. They sprung, we must conclude, from the consciousness of the individual man, and were not taught to our ancestors by the schools. Robert Pike seems to have had about as clear a perception of these things as anybody of his generation, but he only left, according to his executors' inventory, six shillings' worth of books. It seems he did not require scholastic aid to discover that the General Court transcended its just powers in prohibiting the Quaker method of public teaching; or, that the authorized religious preachers of the time set up and aimed to enforce claims to domination not consistent with the rights of the parishioner and church member. He evidently saw boundaries and limitations of the civil power which he had not learned from books.

Here are a hundred, more or less, of the citizens of Salisbury, Newbury, Hampton, Andover, and Haverhill, called upon to excuse or defend their audacious conduct in calling in question the supreme authority of the General Court. A large number hastened to apologize, and proclaim their submission; but a portion, about a fifth of the whole, stand out and valiantly refuse to succumb. They have their rights, according to their own estimate; they have but exercised them, and they refuse submission and defy the General Court. These defying men are the salt of their several villages. They have sprung out of the earth, and are the advance guard of the coming legions of revolution. Fifteen of the most independent and intractable are selected by the General Court for punishment; but we do not learn that the prosecution was ever pressed to trial. The moral effect of their resistance was sufficient to prevent it. And thus the first Right of Petition case here disappears from the record.

The petition, with the Newbury signatures, and some of

the proceedings of the committee, are subjoined. Some portions of the manuscripts have become illegible, including several of the signatures, which are omitted.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of Newbury, to the honored General Court now assembled at Boston, showeth:

That whereas our loving friend, Lieutenant Robert Pike, of Salisbury, hath by occasion, as it is witnessed against him, let fall some words for which the honored Court hath been pleased [to censure him], we, having had experience that he hath been a peaceable man and a useful instrument, ... do therefore humbly desire this honored Court that the said sentence may be [revoked], and that the said Lieutenant Pike be ..... restored to his former liberty. So ..... pray, etc.,

Richd. Kent, Jr.,	Wm. Titcomb,	Benj. Swett,
Wm. Moody,	John Bartlett,	Joseph Swett,
Daniel Peirce,	Tho. Browne,	Steph. Greenleaf,
Geo. Little,	Richd. Bartlett,	Anthony Morse,
Saml. Moody,	Gyles Cromlowe,	Henry Lunt,
Richd. Dole,	Aquilla Chase,	Solomon Kyes,
John Poore,	Edw. Richardson,	Tristram Coffin,
Dan. Thurston,	Wm. Richardson,	Francis Plummer,
Joseph Plummer,	John Bishop,	Sam. Plummer,
Richd. Thurly,	Sam. Poore,	Dan. Thurston,
John Wolcot,	John Hutchins,	Wm. Cottle,
John Hull,	Wm. Sawyer,	John Rolf,
Rob. Adams,	Richd. Fitts,	John Muslewhite,
Wm. Chandler,	John Bond,	John Emery, Sr.,
John Tillotson,	Chris. Bartlett,	John Emery, Jr.,
John Baily,	James Ordway,	Sam. Moore,
John Wheeler,	Edwd. Woodman,	Nich. Batt,
Rob. Cooper,	Stephen Swett,	John Cheney,
Richd. Kent, Sr.,	Wm. Ilsly,	Daniel Cheney.
	Tho. Smith,	

Here follow the recantations or excuses of some of these and other signers, under press of the Legislative Committee's investigations:

We, whose names are underwritten, did unadvisedly set our hands to a petition in the behalf of Lieutenant Robert Pike, wherein we have given the honorable Court just occasion of offence. We did it ignorantly, and we are sorry for it, and do crave that you would be pleased to pass it by.

WILL. MOULTON,
NATHANIEL BACHILER,
SAMUEL FOGG,
JOSEPH MERY.

The Answer of JAMES ORDWAY *and* RICHARD BARTLETT.

The reason that I set my hand to the petition is explained in the petition; and as for being moved to it by any one, there was no [inducement to] me to do it, only my good-will to the man that moved me to it; not thinking nor intending the least dishonor to the honored Court, as far as I know mine own heart, but desiring to give them their [due respect].

GOOD SIR,—Be pleased to signify this as an addition to goodman Goldwire signing of the petition: that he did not intend the least offence to the General Court, and is sorry that he hath offended them, humbly desiring the honored Court to pass it by. I pray, sir, let it not be forgotten, because it is of concernment. Your humble servant,

THO. BRADBURY.

SIR,—John Eaton also doth acknowledge his offence in setting his hand to the petition, and is heartily sorry, humbly desiring the honored Court to pass it by. Per me,

THO. BRADBURY.

The honored Court may please to understand that the reasons why we set our hands to the petition were expressed in the petition, we apprehending the person petitioned for a quiet and serviceable man.

STEPHEN SWETT,
CHRISTOPHER BARTLETT,
JOHN TILLOTSON,
JOSEPH PLUMMER,
DANIEL THURSTON, JR.,
JOHN CHENEY, JR.,
DANIEL CHENEY.

Whereas, the honored Court appointed William Gerrish and Nicholas Noyes to examine the petitioners of Newbury respecting Lieutenant Robert Pike, we, in answer, crave favor of this honored Court to make the best construction of the answers, as from our being, as we are, capable to return them, considering the answers themselves as we have received them. Some having formerly answered, and upon second thought did not approve of it, would return their own answer, as may appear by two papers, and no other answer could we have; some questioning our power, others tender of ensnaring such as prevailed with them. Others, being called to answer if they were instructed, were most free in confession who brought them the petition.

Robert Adams said Lieutenant John Pike brought it him. John Lull would not ..... otherwise than this; being desired to make some answers ..... of John Pike, said: set him down so, if you please, and let it go. Some said John Bartlett, John Hutchinson, John Cheney brought it [the petition]. Abraham Tappine, William Soyer, Tristram Coffin, William Chandler, say they judged Robert Pike a peaceable man, and thought no hurt in petitioning for him, being ignorant of the ground of his [offence]; but, upon consideration, they judge it was their weakness. Are sorry they have given the Court offence. Thomas Smith, also —— Thurston, Anto. Morse, Sr., Daniel Pearse, Stephen Greenleaf, Robert Cooper, Nicholas Batt, Robert Adams, say they were ignorant of his sentence, and conceived ..... he being a man useful in these parts, moved them to [petition] ..... any offence to be given to the honored Court, and [regret it] had not given satisfaction. They would not have ..... it to do again; and these are sorry they did it..... Francis Plummer and Robert Morse say the reason is because he is a useful man, and thought they might petition without offence. It was in the liberty of the Court to accept it or reject it, and ..... they could not see they had done amiss in petitioning.

John Bishop being desired to go into the meeting-house to explain ..... about the petition, he said he could not stay, but the constable said he must. He came into the house before us; said, would the General Court have the reasons, they are

in the petition; and that was all he would say, and so turned his back and away he went. Edward Woodman saith he was ignorant what words he spoke, meaning Robert Pike; thought they had been ordinary words, and that he had acknowledged his fault. On consideration, judged it weakness, and is sorry to have given the Court offence. This [is also the] answer of Edward Richardson, Samuel Moody, Richard Kent, William Moody, John Bayly, John Poore, John Bartlett, Thomas Browne, John Wheler, John Emery, Jr., Richard Dole, Richard Pettingel, and Samuel Morse.

Benjamin Swett saith every free subject hath liberty to petition for any that had been in esteem, without offence to any; and the petition itself hath answer in itself sufficient, as far as he is able to speak. John Muslewaith and William Ilsly add this: Hearing him commended by Mr. Bradstreet for a fair pleader, they were encouraged thereby to use their liberty to petition for him, not intending any dishonor to the honored Court. Solomon Kyes and John Cheney say they were his friends, and out of love to him, being in want of him, did petition for him, not being induced by any man, but did it voluntarily. Samuel Plummer saith he intended no affront to the honored Court, but only desired Lieutenant Robert Pike's liberty in a lawful way. Henry Lunt, also, and John Hutchinson.

John Emery demanded our commission and the sight of the petition, and then would answer. Being produced, he answered we had no power to demand who brought him the petition; and hearing John Bond make answer, told him he was a wise man, in a bold, flouting manner. His carriage, we conceive, was [insulting]. Daniel Thurston, Jr., saith his reason is set down. Being demanded who [showed] it him, saith, why should he answer to any other question? —— Rolfe saith the reasons are in the petition. He did apprehend every [man had] liberty to petition for a man that had been so serviceable in the commonwealth; and he found the petition lying on the table. Joseph Plummer said he does not know he is bound to give an answer who brought the petition. So said his brother Daniel Cheney. William Titcomb saith he does remember that he set his hand to a paper which did concern Lieutenant Pike,

but in what circumstance he knows not, unless he saw the paper—that being all he had to answer. John Wolcot saith the chief reason was his good-will to the man . . . . . no hurt to that Court. For other answer, if he be called to [a higher] power to answer, he will then answer—and so went away very highly.

These we conceive to be the several answers, as near as we can possibly return.

WILLIAM GERRISH, } *Committee.*
NICHOLAS NOYES, }

CHAPTER VI.

HIS RETIREMENT FROM, AND REAPPEARANCE IN, THE GENERAL COURT.—NEW LAW AGAINST THE QUAKERS.

During the year in which the proceedings we have now related were taking place, and for the two succeeding years, Lieutenant Pike had opportunity for uninterrupted attention to his farm and his private affairs. But from what subsequently occurred, we infer that he felt a brooding discontent over the injustice of which he was the victim. It does not appear that he made any confession, or came before the General Court personally as a suppliant in any form. His fine was paid, but the political disfranchisement remained. He petitioned for its removal. His friend and pastor for many years, the Rev. Mr. Worcester, who was settled over the church at Salisbury from 1639–40 to 1663, appeared before the General Court and urged the revocation of the sentence as a personal favor to himself. It seems probable from this that Lieutenant Pike declined this service for himself, and left it to his friends.

At the fall session of the General Court, on the 23d of October, 1657, we find this record:

In answer to the petition of Robert Pike, humbly requesting the Court's favor, his fine being paid, to remit to him and release him from the other part of the Court's sentence against him, Mr. Worcester, the pastor of the church at Salisbury, appearing on behalf of the petitioner, and acknowledging him-

self much bound to the Court if they would be pleased to grant the said Pike's request, the Court grant his request.

The people of Salisbury did not wait long before expressing their sentiments. They immediately elected their newly enfranchised fellow-citizen, and sent him to the General Court, to present their compliments in person. He appeared there as a member on the 19th of the following May (1658). The assembly did not receive this testimonial graciously. They could not openly protest against this prompt return of a contumacious citizen, and so they set about showing their indignation in another way. The first act they performed was to pass a new law against the Quakers. This enactment declares:

That Quakers, and such accursed heretics arising amongst ourselves, may be dealt with according to their deserts, and that their pestilent errors and practices may speedily be prevented, it is hereby ordered, as an addition to the former law against Quakers, that every such person or persons professing any of their pernicious ways, by speaking, writing, or by meetings on the Lord's day, or any other time, to strengthen themselves or seduce others to their diabolical doctrine, shall, after due means of conviction, incur the penalty ensuing; that is, every person so meeting shall pay to the county for every time ten shillings, and every one speaking in such meeting shall pay five pounds apiece; and in case any such person has been punished by scourging or whipping the first time, according to the former laws, shall be still kept at work in the house of correction till they put in security, with two sufficient men, that they shall not any more vent their hateful errors, or use their sinful practices, or else shall depart this jurisdiction at their own charge; and if any of them return again, then each such person shall incur the penalty of the laws made for strangers.

This performance having relieved the legislative mind, it soon found something for the refractory member to do.

On the 26th of May, 1658, on petition of Edward Colcord, the Court appointed a committee, consisting of Lieutenant Robert Pike and three others, to reopen a case relating to a saw-mill standing on Exeter River, and report upon the same at the next session of the court.

CHAPTER VII.

PURCHASE OF NANTUCKET AS A RETREAT FOR THE OFFENDERS.—ROBERT PIKE'S POSITION AND AGENCY.

During the summer of 1658 the new law against the Quakers, "and the accursed heretics arising amongst ourselves," like Peasely and Macy, and their defenders, foreboded the approaching violence toward them that was afterward manifested in the execution of several of their number.

Macy was an active, determined man, and, unlike Mary Dyer, preferred not to be hung, and so resolved to depart out of the jurisdiction. He and a number of other Salisbury people entered into negotiations for the purchase of the island of Nantucket. No white man had yet lived upon it, and it was inhabited by about three thousand savages; but, with his habit of free speech, Macy preferred his chance with them to remaining where he was. In this enterprise Robert Pike sympathized and joined. The island was owned by Thomas Mayhew, merchant of Watertown, who had bought it in October, 1641, of James Forrett, or Forest, agent of Lord Stirling in New York, who claimed for his principal all the islands lying between Cape Cod and the Hudson River. Richard Vines of Saco, agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had also set up a claim to it; but Mayhew had bought out his rights. Though the purchase had been made in the winter preceding, the deed was not executed till the 2d of July, 1659.

The original deed conveyed it to Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Christopher Hussey, Richard Swayne, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swayne, and William Pike or Pile, Thomas Mayhew reserving a twentieth part to himself. These proprietors, at a meeting in Salisbury the previous February, after the purchase had been determined upon, but before the deed was given, agreed to admit ten other partners. One of these was Robert Pike, who shared the interest of Christopher Hussey.

It was a period when it was not known who might soon find it convenient to hold a proprietorship in this distant island of the sea. One might have questioned its character as a harbor of refuge, considering its population; but the subsequent conduct of the Indians toward the white settlers justified no suspicion that might then have existed in regard to their treacherous dispositions or warlike temper. No serious differences ever arose between them and the whites. The latter soon set the example of pursuing in open boats and capturing the whales which sought the shallow waters of that shoal-bound coast, and the savages quickly followed, and soon became among the most expert of the original whalers of Nantucket.

Robert Pike held relations with the island people at the time of his death, over forty years afterward, and it is thus presumable that his original connection with the enterprise continued through his life. The subjoined document attests his intimate business relationship with Macy while he resided at Salisbury:

The deposition of Robert Pike, who, sworn, saith that, being empowered about the estate of Robert Ring, as by a writing bearing date the 3d of the 9th month, 1643, doth more fully appear, that he did, in the absence of the said Ring, as his agent, or friend, or attorney, etc., manage the said Ring's estate, some-

times alone or at least by consent of Thomas Macy, sometimes both together; also, that the said Ring had both land and cattle in his absence, for which I or we paid rates both to church, town, and commonwealth, from time to time till he returned, sometimes more, sometimes less; also, that in sale of his house-lots we did not sell his commonages, but intended his habitation in a more convenient [place] where now he dwells.

Also, that this deponent did, as Robert Ring's agent in his behalf, demand of the town a share of this common division of meadow now sued for; also, that he did make known his power so to do and the bill of sale to John Fuller, whereby he challenged the common right of John Fuller.

Sworn before the Court held at Salisbury the 14th, 2d month, 1663. THO. BRADBURY, *Recorder.*

This is a true copy of the original on file, as attests,

THO. BRADBURY, *Recorder.*

Vera copia. Attests. EDW. RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Whether Robert Pike ever contemplated a change of residence to Nantucket we have no means of knowing. Though a bold and outspoken man, he seems also to have possessed that worldly wisdom which enabled him to maintain a just equipoise in the midst of contending opinions. What his views were in these vital issues that were agitating the community, leading to violent punishments, and even death itself, can admit of no doubt. He had suffered fine and disfranchisement for them. After being restored to his rights he joined in this measure, which was to secure a safe retreat for the persecuted victims whose cause he had espoused, and in whose behalf he had suffered; but, while doing this, he maintained his position at home. The people of Salisbury at this very time returned him again and again to the General Court. Never belonging or pretending to belong to the persecuted sects whose battles he had fought, his weight of character and the popular sup-

port he received, enabled him to hold his place undisturbed in the community.

Any misstep or indiscretion at this critical period, when the whole public was excited and inflamed against the "accursed heretics," might have involved him in serious difficulties. But he appears to have wisely avoided the snares that beset him, and preserved his just balance until the storm had passed, and the General Court had been compelled by the progress of events, and by orders from home, to erase from their statute books the offensive enactments which originally aroused the resentment and provoked the hostility of this vigilant citizen.

He had the satisfaction of seeing, at the end of eight years from the time of the original prosecution against him, the entire structure of intolerance against which he had contended swept away. His mere presence in the General Court afterward, and in the Board of Assistants, to which he was soon after elevated, was a constant reproof to the spirit of persecution, and a reminder of its humiliating failures. Such was the reward of his patient labors in the ways of righteousness, and the good sense which enabled him to see what those ways were.

CHAPTER VIII.

THOMAS MACY PUNISHED FOR SHELTERING QUAKERS. — HIS PERILOUS VOYAGE TO NANTUCKET. — SUCCESS OF THE ENTERPRISE.

THOMAS MACY did not reach Nantucket before the General Court found occasion to again call him to account. He had given shelter to four travelling Quakers, and at an early session of the court, in 1659, he was summoned to appear before it and answer to a complaint made against him for this offence. Instead of complying with the requisition he sent a letter, of which the following is a copy:

27th of the 8th month, 1659.

This is to entreat the honored Court not to be offended because of my nonappearance. It is not from any slighting the authority of the honored Court, nor from fear to answer the case; but I have been for some weeks past very ill, and am so at present; and, notwithstanding my illness, yet I, desirous to appear, have done my utmost endeavor to hire a horse, but cannot procure one at present. I, being at present destitute, have endeavored to purchase, but at present cannot attain it; but I shall relate the truth of the case, as my answer would be to your honored Court, and more cannot be proved, nor so much: On a rainy morning there came to my house Edward Wharton and three men more; the said Wharton spoke to me, saying they were travelling eastward, and desired me to direct them in the way to Hampton, and asked me how far it was to Casco Bay. I never saw any of the men before except Wharton, neither did I require their names or what they were; but by their carriage I thought they might be Quakers, and told

them so, and therefore desired them to pass on their way, saying to them I might possibly give offence in entertaining them; and as soon as the violence of the rain ceased (for it rained very hard) they went away, and I never saw them since. The time they stayed in the house was about three-quarters of an hour, but I can safely affirm it was not an hour. They spoke not many words in the time, neither was I at leisure to talk with them, for I came home wet to the skin immediately before they came to the house, and I found my wife sick in bed. If this does not satisfy the honored Court, I am subject to their sentence. I have not willingly offended. I am ready to serve and obey you in the Lord. (Signed),

THOMAS MACY.

Two of the men who accompanied Edward Wharton were William Robinson, a merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson, of Yorkshire, England; and these two were hanged in Boston the following 27th of October (1659).

Thomas Macy was fined thirty shillings for his offence, and ordered to be admonished by the Governor. Paying his fine, and receiving his admonition, he shook the dust from off his feet and departed for Nantucket with all his worldly goods, accompanied by his family. He encountered a severe storm, and his wife, who was influenced by some omens of disaster, besought him to put back. He told her not to fear, for his faith was perfect. But she entreated him again. Then the spirit which impelled him broke forth: "Woman, go below and seek thy God. I fear not the witches on earth or the devils in hell!"

Thomas Macy survived all his persecutions and perils, and safely landed at Nantucket, the first and only settler of 1659. The increase of his posterity, since that worthy and intrepid beginning, is an extraordinary example in the art of multiplication, and is duly recorded in an octavo vol-

ume of more than one thousand pages. Other emigrants soon followed, and since then the men of Nantucket have earned a renown hardly surpassed by that of any other New England community. Its glories have bloomed and faded in the two centuries and more that have since elapsed; but the memory of its early beginning by the men of Salisbury, in the cause of toleration, will survive, when the other facts of its history shall be forgotten.

CHAPTER IX.

TRIUMPH OF THE QUAKERS IN THE GENERAL COURT.—ROBERT PIKE'S RE-ELECTION.—APPOINTED A MAGISTRATE.—COMMISSIONER TO EXTEND THE JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS OVER THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.—DIRECTIONS OF THE GENERAL COURT.

In the first year of Thomas Macy's voluntary exile (1659) the citizens of Salisbury again bore testimony to their sympathy with him, by sending his friend and defender, Robert Pike, to the General Court. If the Court was rid of one more pestilent heretic, who had been the subject of their active attention during several years past, there was still a truculent Puritan remaining behind, one of their own number, daily confronting them in condemnatory companionship. This presence was no doubt irritating and hard to bear, but it was a useful discipline in preparing the minds of the body for that greater humiliation which soon followed, in the order from home requiring the persecution of the Quakers to cease. The Court, in 1660, took the final satisfaction of reviving the old law of 1631 against them; but the king's order, issued in September, 1661, revoked their action, and forbade all further proceedings against the Quakers.* Thus, at the end of eight years of hostile

* The order in regard to the Quakers was obtained by Burroughs, after a personal interview with the king, and was as follows: "That if there were any of those people called Quakers amongst them, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that were imprisoned and obnoxious to the like condemnation, they were to forbear to proceed any further therein." Samuel Shattuck,

controversy, the triumph of Robert Pike was complete. Up to this period the General Court had borne down all opposition, and its violent proceedings had culminated in the hanging, on Boston Common, of Mary Dyer and two of the Quakers whom Thomas Macy had harbored in the fall of 1659. But a change took place, and there has been no hanging or trying of Quakers from that day to this.

While awaiting this result, through the years of 1660 and 1661, Thomas Bradbury, the life-long friend of Robert Pike, occupied the post of Deputy from Salisbury; and in the year of triumph, 1662, the place was accorded to Philip Challis, one of the refractory petitioners for the revocation of Robert Pike's sentence.

Some current business had been, meantime, transacted by the General Court in 1659 and 1660, in which Pike plays the part of land viewer and locater of grants by that body.

After the expiration of Philip Challis's term of a single year, Robert Pike reappears in his old place of Deputy, in 1663. This time he comes with a colleague, Jeremiah Honchin. And now he evidently stood well with his colleagues. The king, Charles II., had addressed a letter to his Massachusetts subjects, and it was necessary that it should have a seasonable and worthy reply, from the most considerable men among them then present in the General Court. A committee of thirteen was appointed, of which Robert Pike was one, as appears by the following record of proceedings on May 27th:

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a Quaker of Salem, then in England under sentence of banishment, brought the order in person, and presented himself at the Governor's door. Governor Endicott, after due consideration, replied that "he should obey his Majesty's command." This was in November, 1661. The same month the General Court declared the laws against the Quakers suspended.

The Court, on a long and serious debate of what is necessary to be done in reference to his Majesty's letter, and there having been much time already expended thereabouts—the Court intending to break up speedily—in answer to his Majesty's pleasure therein, and for the satisfaction of all parties concerned, it is ordered, that a committee of thirteen be appointed to consider the subject in the recess, and draw up a suitable answer, and present the same for the consideration of the General Court at the next session.

This committee consisted of Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. Thomas Danforth, Mr. Eleazer Susher, Major-General John Leverett, Captain Edward Johnson, Captain John Pynchon, Mr. Harry Bartholomew, Captain Robert Pike, Ensign Daniel Fisher, Mr. Allen, Mr. Reynor, Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Mitchell.

In 1664 Salisbury had but one member, Mr. Jeremiah Honchin, who was also re-elected in the following year.

In May, 1665, "the Court considering the state of the county of Norfolk, as being exposed to great trouble and charge, by reason of their remoteness from any magistrate, it is ordered, that Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury, and Mr. Samuel Dalton of Hampton, or either of them, shall be, and hereby are, empowered as commissioners to take the acknowledgment of deeds, to administer oaths in all civil cases, to put forth warrants, to search for stolen goods, to take notice and punish defects in watching, to punish drunkenness, excessive drinking, and such like crimes of inferior nature, according to law—to bind over offenders to the County Court, and to solemnize marriage to persons duly published, during the Court's pleasure."

In 1666 Mr. Honchin was succeeded as member by Captain Robert Pike, who was also returned again in 1668.

In 1667, on a petition of the inhabitants of Exeter for an enlargement of their town to an extent of ten miles,

Captain Robert Pike and two others were appointed a committee to view the land and make report to the next court.

In 1668 Massachusetts issued a declaration asserting her jurisdiction over the province of Maine, or Yorkshire, as it was sometimes called, and appointed four commissioners to repair thither and effect a settlement of the affairs of that province. It was not till this commission had acted that the inhabitants east of Saco River, being mostly Episcopalians, acknowledged themselves subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and then only with reluctance. On this commission Robert Pike was appointed, but for some unknown reason does not appear to have acted—whether because the stretch of power the appointment involved did not square with his sensitive ideas on the subject of "civil and ecclesiastical liberty," or for what other reason, we are left wholly to conjecture. All we know for certain is, that the proceeding incorporating Maine suddenly and peremptorily into the Massachusetts jurisdiction was left entirely to the other three commissioners, of whom John Leverett, afterward Governor of Massachusetts (from 1673 to 1679) was the chief.

The order and instructions of the General Court in the premises, dated May 27th, 1668, were as follows:

To Major-General JOHN LEVERETT, EDWARD TYNG, *Esq., Captain* RICHARD WALDRON, *and Captain* ROBERT PIKE:

GENTLEMEN,—You are hereby authorized and required to repair to York, in the county of York, and there you or any two of you, whereof Major-General Leverett shall be one, to keep a County Court, according as the law directs; and in case you meet with any person or persons, under the pretence of any other authority, that shall swerve from the due obedience they owe unto this jurisdiction, under his Majesty's royal charter, to which they have submitted and engaged themselves, that you call before you all such persons, and bring them to a due

trial, and proceed to sentence as the merit of their offences shall require.

Further, you are authorized and commissioned to establish and confirm all officers and commissioners, civil and military, as you shall judge meet, for the settling and preserving order and peace in the said county of York. And for the better enabling you to effect the same, you are hereby authorized, from the date of these presents, to act and do all such things, preparatory to the keeping of courts and settling of peace in the said county, as in your discretion you shall judge most meet. And all officers, civil and military, within this jurisdiction, and all other inhabitants, are hereby required to be assistants unto you, as the matter shall require; and you are to render an account of what you shall do herein to this Court at their next session in October. In testimony whereof, this Court hath caused the seal of the colony to be affixed, and signed by the Governor, the 20th of May, 1668.

Instructions for our Commissioners in the present transactions referring to the affairs of Yorkshire.

1st. As you are empowered by your commission from this General Court to exert our jurisdiction in that county, and accordingly to suppress any disturbance or opposition you may meet with in those parts, we are as well willing that, in putting forth the power and trust committed to you, you use as much lenity as in your wisdom the general state of the business will admit.

2d. That according as it hath been already expressed to such as did from those parts make application to this Court, you shall seasonably let the people there understand the same, namely: in regard of their late causeless revolt, they must not expect to have any privilege but what is common to the rest of the shires or towns in this jurisdiction.

3d. That endeavor be made to make as little alteration as may be touching any propriety, but that men's rights stand *in statu quo prius*, namely, as they were before the revolt.

4th. That you endeavor to admit as little questioning of such grants of lands as have been given in the time of the interruption as may be, being done by their general assemblies.

5th. That you take notice that you are not altogether obliged to strict form of law in the present disposing of courts and officers, civil and military, leaving it to your wisdom at present to betrust such men as you deem fittest for their respective places.

The three commissioners, under these instructions, proceeded to York and discharged their duties in the same peremptory spirit in which the orders were issued; and in due time they made their report, and Maine was annexed.

CHAPTER X.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE BOUNDARIES OF EXETER.—RESERVATION OF TIMBER.—ROBERT PIKE AS MAGISTRATE.— MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COURT. — SERGEANT-MAJOR OF NORFOLK COUNTY AND PISCATAQUA. — MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF ASSISTANTS.

At the session of May 27th, 1668, the committee appointed to consider the extension of the boundaries of Exeter made their report, signed by Samuel Dalton and Richard Walderne. To this report is appended the following note:

Though I could not, by straitness of time, make a full view of all the lands above mentioned, yet from what I do know, together with that information I have had of those that do well know of the quality of the rest of the land, I do judge that the bounds above mentioned may be just and reasonable, and do concur in subscribing. ROBERT PIKE.

In respect to the foregoing report, the General Court express their concurrence, but with the following exception, referring to a practice which made great difficulty in the following century, at the time of the Revolution.

It is ordered, that the bounds of Exeter stand as above settled, provided that all pine-trees fit for masts, which are twenty-four inches and upward within three feet of the ground, that grow above three miles from their meeting-house, within the bounds of the town, are hereby reserved for the public; and if any person shall presume to fell any such pine-trees fit for masts, he or they shall forfeit ten pounds for every tree, one half to the informer and the other half to the public treasury.

The action of officials and informers, in the attempt to preserve all the best timber of the forests for masts for the royal navy, led to irritations, jealousies, and conflict. The law bred a race of spies on the one hand and of smugglers on the other, and its execution was often a source of lasting bitterness between the people and the officials. In the final struggle of the Revolution it was a grievance in the frontier communities, which the patriots seized upon with great effect to secure adhesions to the popular cause.

The following extracts from the records of the General Court explain themselves:

November 7th, 1668.

The Court, considering of Captain Robert Pike as a commissioner for the county of Norfolk, and otherwise serviceable to the country, judge meet to free him from country rates and county rates for the year past.

May 19th, 1669.

It is ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, Captain Robert Pike, and Mr. Samuel Dalton, be intrusted with magisterial power for one year ensuing, and that any one of them may do and execute within their respective towns whatever any magistrate may legally do.

In May, 1670, Captain Robert Pike again appears as Deputy elect to the General Court. From the record of May 26th of that year we copy as follows:

It is desired that the General Court would be mindful of appointing of some one or more of the Magistrates to be the President and Judge at the County Court to be holden at Norfolk for this year ensuing, there being no magistrate living in that county. The Court may also please to take notice that the commissions granted to Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury, and Mr. Samuel Dalton of Hampton, are now expired; so that the Court may now act for the continuance of it as they please.

In answer to this motion, it is ordered, that Captain Daniel Gookin shall be, and hereby is, appointed to keep the County

Courts at Hampton and Salisbury for the year ensuing, with the Associates.

And do order and hereby empower Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, Captain Robert Pike, and Mr. Samuel Dalton, with magistratical power for the year ensuing, and that every of them may do and execute within their respective towns where they live, and not elsewhere, whatever any magistrates may legally do.

The Magistrates have passed this, their brethren the Deputies hereto consenting.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Consented to by the Deputies.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clericus.*

In 1670 the military affairs of Norfolk County and Piscataqua had become entangled by jealousies and violence, and the regular officers were unable to compose the disorders that had arisen. Robert Pike, who then filled the posts of member of the General Court and captain of the Salisbury troop of horse, was selected as the most suitable person to harmonize the discordant elements, in the capacity of sergeant-major. A protest was made against this interference by the parties concerned, who claimed the right to settle the case in their own way; but the appointee was allowed to proceed, and nothing more was heard of the difficulty.

May 31st, 1670.

Whereas the militia of the county of Norfolk and the river of Piscataqua are at an unsettlement for want of a sergeant-major, under whose command they might be drawn together and exercised in regimental service, as the law directeth; and by long experience it is found difficult for them to make their address to the major-general, and Major Denison for to order the militia in those parts, whose care and love to them have been in many ways manifested, according to what the former occasions have been; and seeing that those parts have now

increased to such a competent number as may be capable of regimental exercise, this Court judgeth it meet to appoint Captain Robert Pike to be sergeant-major over the military companies of the county of Norfolk and Piscataqua.

On the same day, on motion of Seaborne Cotton, Captain Robert Pike and Samuel Dalton were appointed to lay out eight hundred acres of land granted to Rev. John Cotton and his heirs.

About this period the General Court consisted of from thirty-five to fifty members, but the numbers fluctuated considerably. Either members were not returned at all from certain towns, or the record of their election and presence is omitted. Thus, in 1675 there is no record of the election of any members whatever. No one but Robert Pike appears as representative from Salisbury during the twelve years from 1670 to 1682, and he only appears in the years 1673–74 and 1680–81. In 1682 he was chosen to the upper branch, or Board of Assistants.

It was an inactive period, and King Philip's war, in 1675, after a continuous peace of forty years, was the only marked event that broke the monotony of domestic affairs. Yet it was the era of one of the stirring passages in Robert's life, as will be shown in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XI.

REV. JOHN WHEELWRIGHT, ROBERT PIKE'S MINISTER.

In 1675 the Rev. Mr. Worcester, the first pastor of the Salisbury church, and the faithful friend of Robert Pike, had been dead for twelve years, after a pastorate of twenty-four years. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Wheelwright, a celebrated person in his day and generation.

This gentleman was a very remarkable specimen of the arrogant English parson, educated to a high estimate of the superior dignity of his cloth, and withal of a turbulent and disputatious temper, not at all subdued at this period, after a checkered career of fourscore years.

Mr. Wheelwright was born in England, between 1590 and 1595; was educated at Cambridge for the ministry, where he graduated in 1614, and was occupying a pulpit in England as early as 1618. He came to Boston in May, 1636, fully charged with activity, acerbity, and violence. He was attached to no school but his own. His wife belonged to the Hutchinson family, and was sister of the husband of the well-known Anne Hutchinson, with whom and Roger Williams he concurred in their opposition to the Puritan authorities. But it appears they could not agree in anything else. Wheelwright declined to accompany them to Rhode Island at the well-known period of their exodus. He had an attractive family, three of his daughters having been twice married. The first year of his arrival in Boston he preached a sermon of such a char-

acter that he was convicted of sedition and contempt of authority; and as he refused to retract his obnoxious sentiments, he was banished out of the jurisdiction. Sixty persons remonstrated, and they were called before the General Court, and received various degrees of punishment. This was the origin of the settlement of Rhode Island, whither most of them went. But Wheelwright departed in an opposite direction, and, with a few followers, founded the town of Exeter, in New Hampshire, in 1638. He displeased his followers there, and in the same year the people of Exeter wrote to Boston asking for his dismission.

In 1642 New Hampshire was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and then Wheelwright moved again—this time to Wells, in Maine, of which he is also termed the founder. Not finding peace and satisfaction in these yet remoter regions, he abated his pretensions, and petitioned for reinstatement in 1643. In his petition he acknowledges his "own distempered passions," and confesses to having uttered "vehement and censorious speeches." Under date of "Wells, 7th of the 10th month, 1643," he writes as follows to the Governor at Boston:

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,—Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the reverend elders and me, in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations and my own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such a hand in those sharp and vehement contentions raised thereabout, to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. . . . . I confess that herein I

have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of your honored selves. . . . . J. WHEELWRIGHT.*

The author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts" (Massachusetts Historical Collection, 1st series, vol. ix.) says of a sermon preached by Wheelwright—following one by Cotton, calculated to heal divisions—that he "was fierce in his manner of speaking, and his matter was more unbecoming than any discourse ever preached in the country. He attacked magistrates and ministers, calling them Jews, Herods, and Philistines. . . . . For this he was called to account, and though a number of his respectable friends signed a protest against the proceedings of the court, he was banished for sedition. He was obstinate for some time, thinking he could appeal to a superior tribunal in England; but being convinced to the contrary, he submitted, and left the province. After remaining a number of years in exile, he made an open confession of his errors, and was restored to the communion and good-will of the people."

This judicious writer remarks, of the religious quarrels of that period: "It was an age of credulity. . . . . No man is wise at all times; and those who are judicious in most things often show a weakness of mind in certain opinions which have something marvellous in the relation, or are combined with their prejudices. . . . . Much of the blame falls upon the ministers, who were zealous men; but their enemies had become the prevailing party, and might have kept their influence had they not been more practical than wise. Had they [Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, etc.] not gone to an extreme when Vane was Governor, the peo-

* Hubbard's "History of New England," in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d series, vol. vi., p. 366.

ple who settled Rhode Island might have been the first characters in Massachusetts. The great Cotton would not have wavered, but have been a partisan, most likely, in their cause. Wheelwright would certainly have been his colleague. . . . . There was this difference between Cotton and Wheelwright: the former was more of a peacemaker; his zeal was qualified, though at times this was rather like the fire of emulation than a coal taken from the divine altar. But the latter was opinionated, decisive, and regardless of consequences. He cared neither for men nor measures, and carried his seditious language even to the pulpit. This man seemed desirous of increasing the unhappy divisions which then disturbed the churches, and were combined with all civil business."

Wheelwright, having got back into Massachusetts, became reconciled to Winthrop, and in 1647 took the post of colleague to Mr. Dalton, in Hampton.

Cromwell having become Protector, Wheelwright went to England in 1657, and renewed his acquaintance with the triumphant Puritan, with whom he had formerly been intimate at college. He returned after the restoration, in 1660, and from his old place in Hampton he stepped over into Salisbury, where he became Mr. Worcester's successor, and Robert Pike's minister, in 1662.

CHAPTER XII.

MAJOR PIKE'S CONTROVERSY WITH WHEELWRIGHT, WHO EXCOMMUNICATED HIM. — LIVELY EXPRESSIONS OF MUTUAL CONSIDERATION.—PUBLIC PEACE THREATENED.—POWER OF THE GENERAL COURT INVOKED. — REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.—THE MAJOR REINSTATED IN THE CHURCH.—DEATH OF WHEELWRIGHT.

What has been said in the preceding chapter of the character of Robert Pike's pastor in 1676 is useful, as throwing light on the extremely lively expressions of mutual consideration which follow.

The preacher and the magistrate had fallen out. As Mr. Palfrey observes, in his most loyal history: "In every settlement the minister was the chief man, unless the settlement boasts also a magistrate or assistant, and then the minister is the magistrate's peer."

In this case it would seem that the Rev. Mr. Wheelwright had forgotten that the magistrate "commanded a deep reverence," which is the complement of the historian's statement of the preacher's position. But, however it came about, a feud had sprung up between the parties, and we can readily presume, from what we have seen of the character of the pastor, that he was not diffident in asserting his priestly prerogatives. Though sorely buffeted in the past, he had not forgotten his early ways. It is certain that he attempted to coerce Major Pike through the terrors of church discipline, for he did finally excommuni-

cate the refractory layman; and, though he was afterward compelled to receive him back into the bonds of church fellowship, with whatever humiliation that may have involved, it was only done under a pressure too formidable for the irate pastor to resist.

Of the documents in this case that have come down to us, the first in order is the following vigorous onslaught by Mr. Wheelwright, endorsed, "For Major Pike:"

It is commonly reported that you have for a long time much opposed your former minister, denied him power of rule which was due to him, and honorable maintenance, and you did frequently neglect coming to the place of God's public worship in due time, and thus you have walked toward me.

Though I doubt not but Major Pike might have been justly excommunicated without any previous admonition, for his heinous facts of lying, reviling, railing, groundless accusations of his pastor; his furious, outrageous behavior, in his words, gestures, and actions; his constant pleading the wicked causes of delinquents; crimes to be abominated and abhorred of all the churches of God, for which we have precept and precedent (1 Cor. v.), yet did not we go that way with him.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.

[This is a true copy, taken out of the original.]

Major Pike, finding himself in possession of this very inflammatory document, and being unable to discover from any internal evidence that it was the production of a saint, whose business it was to call sinners to repentance, proceeded to verify it as follows:

8: 11mo. '75.*

This paper was brought me by John ——, a Jersey man, who said he had it of one in the street, but must not tell who;

* That is, February 8th, 1675, or, according to the present reckoning, 1676. As the year then began on the 25th of March, February would be the 11th month; but in one of the succeeding papers it appears to be reckoned (perhaps by a slip of the pen) the 12th.

but, being urged, said it was Doctor Grath, who is a German. Doctor Grath, upon demand, owned that he delivered it, and that he received it of Mr. George Person as he was riding in the street, who was an Englishman. Mr. Person owned it, and said he had it delivered to him by Mr. Wheelwright, his father-in-law, to give me.

February 11th, 1675.

The Reverend Mr. John Wheelwright owned that he sent this writing by his son Person, and that he forgot to deliver it, till he came back from Hampton, to one Mr. Cottry.

Before me, ROBERT PIKE, *Commissioner.*

The major meditated in his wrath how to deal with this extraordinary assault upon his good name and character, and knowing of no more effective method than bringing the culprit before a magistrate, and thinking there could be none more suitable than himself, the offended party, he issued the following summons.

He was, perhaps, a little hasty in this assumption of authority to try a case of his own, but this was better than that Lynch-law which, in our more civilized times, is sometimes resorted to for the punishment of flagrant offenders.

To the Reverend Mr. JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.

February 9th, 1675.

SIR,—You are, in his Majesty's name, required to appear before me, at my house in Salisbury, upon Friday next, by eight of clock in the forenoon, then and there to take notice of a scandalous, reviling, and reproachful writing that is gone abroad as in your name, to see whether you own it or not, and to give a reason of it if you do; as also to be inquired of concerning another of like nature, to which there is no name; as also to bring with you or send that writing that you presented to the Council when at Salisbury, which was openly read, and thereupon required by authority, to be responsible as an evidence for the country against the author thereof (it being so notoriously abusive, scandalous, and reproachful, tending to the breach of the peace, of the laws of God and the country),

or an exact copy of it, according to your promise to the Council when they delivered it to you; as also to answer to several other acts done by you of like nature and tendency, and hereof not to fail. Per ROBERT PIKE, *Commissioner.*

To the Constable of Salisbury or his Deputy.

9th d., 12th m., '75.

You are, in his Majesty's name, required forthwith to serve this warrant according to the color thereof, and make present return thereof unto me under your hand, and to do it with all due respect and civility, regarding both the person and his place. Per ROBERT PIKE, *Commissioner.*

This warrant was owned before the Council the 10th of March, 1675. Per EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Though the magistrate himself had been charged with heinous sins, even to that of being a criminal lawyer, he evidently determined to keep himself within the limits of respectful demeanor toward the godly man who was to be tried for his offence of assailing magisterial authority and dignity; and he accordingly directs the constable to execute the warrant "with all due respect and civility, regarding both the person and his place."

But the reverend clergyman, thinking there might be better law than this, appealed his case to the General Court in the following petition, from which it appears that he was still as active in body as in mind, and that his weight of eighty years was not regarded as any hindrance to a fresh voyage to Europe:

To the Honorable JOHN LEVERETT, *Esq., Governor, and Council, the petition of* JOHN WHEELWRIGHT *of Salisbury humbly showeth:*

Whereas your petitioner is bound for England upon urgent and weighty reasons, and is by Major Robert Pike (as he apprehends) injuriously and illegally obstructed, causing him to give one hundred pounds bond for his appearance at a court

in April next, to answer in a matter wherein he doubts not to clear his innocency, but shall inevitably be a sufferer by the obstruction thereby given him in his intended voyage; your petitioner does therefore humbly crave the favor of this honored Council, so far to consider the premises as to favor your petitioner with commanding the abovesaid Major Pike to appear before your honored selves, and give the reason of his actions in the premises, and your petitioner shall ever pray.

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.

February 17th, 1675.

In answer to this petition of Mr. John Wheelwright, the Council having had the sight of several letters also from Major Pike of like import, the Council do order that there be a hearing of the case between them at the next Court of Assistants, on the 10th of March next. The said Mr. John Wheelwright and Major Robert Pike are both required to bring with them such writings and evidences as concern their case, at which time the Council will give them a hearing.

By order of the Council.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

The following judgment and declaration show that the petitioner obtained the desired relief:

The Court having heard and considered the complaint of Mr. John Wheelwright against Major Robert Pike, in the case referred to this Court by an act of the Council, in answer to the petition of the said Mr. Wheelwright, they judge and declare the warrant of Major Robert Pike, whereby Mr. Wheelwright was convented before him to be illegal, and that therefore Mr. Wheelwright and his sureties are not obliged by the bond given for his appearance at Hampton Court next; and that Major Pike bear the necessary charges of Mr. Wheelwright's attendance upon this court in this business.

Passed by the Court and Council this 11th of March, 1675.

E. R., *S.*

It is plain, from the intimations and references in the text, that we have only a small part of the controversy be-

fore us. Robert Pike was evidently as pugnacious an adversary as Wheelwright himself, though in the present instance more respectful, as we have already seen in his request to the constable to treat the pastor with "respect and civility."

The records of Norfolk County Court show that at this point Wheelwright himself sought to bring the major into a court of law, and appealed to the judge accordingly. The following is the answer of the Court, under date of May 30th, 1676:

Whereas there was presented to this court, at the latter end thereof, a complaint consisting of certain articles against Major Robert Pike, under the hands of several of the members of the church at Salisbury; the Court, taking into consideration the difference and division that is and hath been long in the said church, to the great dishonor of God, and that the hearing and determining of the said complaint is not like to heal the same, but rather to make the breach greater if the grievance of one party should only be heard, the other party pretending as great reason to prefer their complaint, and there being no convenient opportunity at present to hear either the one or the other: this Court do therefore advise, and as much as in them lies, require the said church of Salisbury to attend their duty, by their diligent and serious endeavor speedily to issue and compose the unhappy difference, either by themselves, if it may be attained, or by the help of other churches, or advice of some able godly Christian friends, chosen by the mutual consent of the church, and parties chiefly concerned; which, if refused or neglected, the said church may expect that civil authority will, according to their duty, provide some due way and means for the putting an end to and issuing the aforesaid differences as speedily as they can; or otherwise, if nothing be done in the meantime, this Court will give a hearing of the aforesaid complaint (parties concerned having due notice thereof by the clerk of the court) at the next session of the said court in the county of Norfolk.

But the case did not end here. It rose afterward into dangerous proportions for the peace of the community, and required the intervention of the higher powers of the commonwealth.

In June, 1677, we find the following record of the proceedings of the General Court:

In answer to the petition of several members of the church, and inhabitants of the town of Salisbury, it is ordered, that Major-general Denison, Thomas Danforth, Joseph Dudley, Esq., Major Thomas Savage, Captain Hugh Mason, Captain Daniel Fisher, Major Samuel Appleton, and Mr. Thomas Graves shall be, and hereby are, empowered as the committee of this Court, to repair unto Salisbury town, and convene before them the inhabitants of said place; and after a full hearing of the rise and grounds of the disturbance and contentions that have of late years happened among them, referring to their civil and ecclesiastical concerns, and to make such a conclusion as may have a tendency to the healing of their spirits and putting an end to their quarrels, and preventing the like for the future; and all persons concerned are required to attend time and place that shall be appointed for their meeting, and submit to the determination that shall be made and given by the committee. And the committee is to make report of the result to the next session of the court.

Of the foregoing committee, Danforth was afterward lieutenant-governor, and Dudley governor. In September the committee made the following report:

Salisbury, 13th of 7th mo., 1677.

We, whose names are subscribed, appointed by the honorable General Court, May 23d, 1677, having repaired to Salisbury and given notice to all parties to yield their attendance, a full hearing and plea being allowed to Major Pike and the Rev. Mr. Wheelwright, and others of the church concerned, we find: that though the original fault charged upon Major Pike was not a matter of plain immorality and scandal, yet in the after management and prosecution of the difference between him-

self and said Wheelwright, pastor, he hath shown himself too litigious in impeaching him with so many articles under his hand, thereby procuring great disturbance to the church and place, and also much contempt of said Wheelwright's person and office, in publicly retorting upon him those words in the 5th verse of the 7th chapter of Matthew, "Cast out the beam," etc.; and also of him and the church in his sudden withdrawing, and with much contempt refusing their judgment, as proved against him—of all which we expect his candid acknowledgment. Neither can we, on the other hand, excuse Mr. Wheelwright for his too great precipitancy in pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against said Pike without further trial for repentance, according to the vote of the church. If he repented not, it was an aggravation, in that the offence was primarily personal, plainly hazarding a breach in the church, which sadly came to pass, as was seen in the vote of eight to seven.

We cannot but condemn that evil practice of those of the church and town that did endeavor, in their petition to the General Court, to eject Mr. Wheelwright from his ministry, by asserting him to be the cause of the disturbance, and that his ministry had a tendency to inflame the minds of the people one against the other—a practice of such dangerous consequences, that not only the contrivers, but even those that were drawn thereinto, ought to reflect upon with self-condemnation, which we expect to hear from them.

We find, also, that those brethren with Major Pike are chargeable for breach of communion and a tendency to schism, in their so far espousing that quarrel as to withdraw; and those of Amesbury alike faulty, for their particular interposition in that matter which they were not present at the management of, too much espousing a party rather than seeking peace in the church; and therefore do advise and pray a general and serious sense of these particulars, in the several parties concerned, and that Mr. Wheelwright and the church do, upon the major's confession as above, receive him again to their communion, hoping Mr. Wheelwright and the church will see the error of the former transaction, as intimated above, and that they all agree together to obtain some other godly and learned

person to assist their pastor in the work of his ministry, not abating his former maintenance among them.

(Signed), DANIEL DENISON,
JOS. DUDLEY,
THOMAS SAVAGE,
HUGH MASON,
DANIEL FISHER.

To the honorable General Court, now sitting.

The committee appointed to repair to Salisbury to settle and compose the dissensions there, report:

Having given notice to the church, and persons concerned in Salisbury, of our intention to be there on the 12th of September last, to attend to the order and commission given us by the last Court, and accordingly most of us repairing thither and convening the people and acquainting them with our commission, and signifying to them that their dissensions and the disturbances among them were grievous and scandalous, and accordingly advising them to Christian composure and due reflection on their late distempers, they had full liberty to declare their causes.

The pastor began by declaring the grounds of his proceedings and those with him. In like manner we heard Major Pike and such others as were with him speak freely and fully. After which we told them they should soon after understand our minds and sense, which was delivered to them, whereof the annexed is a true copy.

After reading to the assembly we gave copies to both parties for that night's consideration. In the morning, after some difficulty in open assembly, we obtained their compliance therein, and a remission of all offences mutually, and Mr. Wheelwright's and the church's free reception of Major Pike into their fellowship again, and their resolution, by God's help, to bury and forget all past miscarriages, and live and love in the fear of the Lord. (Signed), DANIEL DENISON,
JOS. DUDLEY,
THOMAS SAVAGE,
HUGH MASON,
DANIEL FISHER.

Major Appleton was present, consented, and signed, but is now absent. J. D.

This return is accepted by the Court.

And thus, so far as the record shows, we come to an end of this notable controversy. The major was reinstated in full fellowship with the church; and, as we shall see, grew in consideration and activity thenceforward. Wheelwright died two years afterward, about eighty-five years of age.

CHAPTER XIII.

KING PHILIP'S WAR. — MAJOR PIKE'S LETTERS. — DISTRESS OF THE INHABITANTS ON THE FRONTIER. — HIS CHARGES FOR PUBLIC SERVICES PRONOUNCED "VERY LOW."

The period covered by the controversy with Wheelwright was that of "King Philip's War," from 1675 to 1677, inclusive, in which Robert Pike seems to have had his hands full with the Indians.

The following letter is without a date, but seems by its tenor to have been written in the winter of 1675–76, after that remarkable exploit of the Puritans in storming the Narragansett fort, in December, 1675, to which he evidently refers. When that stronghold of the savages was assaulted and destroyed by one of the bravest bodies of raw troops that ever undertook a desperate enterprise, the Indian warriors who escaped fled in every direction, and menaced the frontier settlements on all sides. It is to these that Major Pike evidently refers as being likely to visit the eastern settlements, when he terms them people who would be apt to prove "unlovely neighbors." The previous letter to which he alludes, as is the case with a great many others, is missing. Indeed, all that we have may be regarded as but fragments of his correspondence. By virtue of his office of sergeant-major, Robert Pike was in charge of the military service of Norfolk and Piscataqua counties, and communications with the government were thus made through him. This letter was thus a

cover to that of Major Waldron, another citizen commander of the same district.

To the Governor and Council.

MUCH HONORED,—These are only to give a cover to Major Waldron's, by which all that is new is declared. We have had nothing considerable since my last of the 6th instant, save only that at Hampton, on Saturday last, about nine at night, an Indian coming from goodman Sleeper's barn towards his dwelling-house (which were about eight rod asunder), having fire in his right hand (in appearance about the bigness of an egg) and straw under his other arm, they shot at him about four rod from the house, and he tumbled down, and the straw fell afire and blazed up. They say they saw another run away between the fire and the barn, but no hurt was done. In the morning they saw pieces of birch-bark where the fire was, but found no Indian. We have several men out to-day and yesterday after the Indians, to track them in the snow, but I hear not yet of the success of Hampton, Exeter, or Haverhill. Our Salisbury men came in Tuesday night, having found no track. The child at Exeter is found, and is supposed not to have been carried away with Indians. No more hurt there but the burning of a house and mill; but Captain Gilman did not signify to me whose it was. We should be very glad to hear how things go about the Narragansetts and the common enemy; that we, understanding their motion, might be able to conjecture what we may expect, for I fear if they seek their winter quarters eastward we shall find them unlovely neighbors. The only wise God direct your counsels and motions.

So prays your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

This day I am informed that Tho. Triky, the ferryman of Dover, is drowned.

The annexed communication is likewise without date, but appears to belong to this period:

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Since my first this morning from Captain Daniel, now another from Mr. Martin, requesting present order or help, besides what came in the morning from Cape

Neddick. I understand that on Lord's Day two were shot down at Wells. Pray, sir, give your present direction as to the present exigency, that will admit of no delay. I have ordered from Portsmouth such present relief as themselves judge may be spared, which they only desire order for. As to the Isles of Shoals, please to give your order, which I shall observe. As to a present support here, I hope a more ample supply will soon be made. I am, sir, your humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

[Superscribed: "To the honored Major-General Denison, these present, at Ipswich; haste, post-haste."]

The following document, dated in January, 1677, seems to refer to the services of the preceding season, as well as those of 1675, the war having broken out in the early part of that year. The testimony is that Major Pike was very moderate in his charges for his time spent in the public service, the officers who examined the accounts testifying to their being "very low." The pound at that time was, as we have seen, fixed at four dollars; so that eighty dollars covered the entire charge for one hundred days' service of horse and man, including all "other expenses and charges."

January 8th, 1677.

We, the officers of the militia of the town of Salisbury, whose names are hereunder written, have examined Major Pike's bill of expense, and do find that he hath expended about one hundred days' attendance upon the country service sithence [since] the Indian war began to this day, horse and man, besides other expenses and charges; for the which we do allow him twenty pounds, which we do account very low.

THO. BRADBURY, *Captain.*
JOHN SEVERANS, *Cornet.*
WILLIAM BUSWELL, *Ensign.*
EPHRAIM WINSLEY, *Constable.*

At a General Court held at Boston the 23d of May, 1677: In answer to the motion from the committee of militia for the town of Salisbury, the Court judgeth it meet that the commit-

tee of militia take Major Pike's account, and that it be presented to those whom it doth concern, that due satisfaction may be made accordingly.

This is a true copy, taken out of the court's records.

As attests, EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Consented to by the Deputies.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clericus.*

Salisbury, May the 30th, 1677.

MUCH HONORED,—These are only to give cover to the enclosed, having to add only that I shall not be wanting on my part, and something more, as to Captain Daniel's motion; for I suppose they have power enough to do that without my order, however it is done. As to the matter in general, itself speaks the necessity of expedition. In all your motions, that the Only Wise may direct, is the prayer of your honor's most humble servant, ROBERT PIKE.

Major Waldron may understand that Tom Avery was commander of the [men] that did the deed.

The following midnight effusion shows the pressure of the duties that lay upon our friend, and discloses the unhappy condition of those early Massachusetts communities who were exposed to the inroads of the savages. They were in a state of terror and peril of which we can have but little conception. We see with what steadfast purpose the brave and resolute men who were the breastwork of the threatened massacres stood their ground:

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, July 8th, 1677. 12 at night.

MUCH HONORED SIR,—After many thanks for your great care of us, and readiness to assist us in our danger, whereby under God we are yet in being, which is the cause of my present address. But all are now gone from us, and not a man left, as I am just now informed, to the amazement of the poor people and encouragement of the enemy, who do stand and behold every matron among us, and will most certainly and sud-

denly improve it, if the Lord do not beyond an ordinary way of reason prevent it. What the cause of the thing is I cannot imagine. For my own part, I declared myself unto you as not desirous of putting the country to one farthing of unnecessary expense, nor would I do it. If any orders be not observed, I hope it lies not in me. Captain Gerrish came over with Captain Appleton and Captain Whipple, and showed me a commission in Captain Appleton's hand, to bring over a party of horse and foot to join with ours, in case Simon and his crew were here; but if it were only a skulking party, then to do something else, the particulars whereof I do not remember justly. I showed them what intelligence I had, and all declared that Simon was there, as far as can be known by the woman that knew him; but she saw not more than ten with him, though more than that where the men were killed. Also, that Simon knew her and called her by her name, whereby it is undoubtedly Simon. Captain Appleton expressed some doubt how the whole party would commodiously proceed in our woods, the foot not being able to keep to the pace of the horse, nor the horse willing to come to the slow motion of the foot. I endeavored to remove these scruples. Then Captain Appleton said he must refer to his commission; to which I replied, Then the matter must rest upon yourself to determine whether, by what you hear, Simon and his crew be here or no. To which (as I remember) he said he thought that if it were that party, they would not rest with doing such small matters; to which I said they may have company enough, though it may be divided for their advantage.

Then Captain Gerrish proposed coming over with the troop, and with ours to range the woods to Haverhill, and so home to-day; to which Captain Appleton said it was too late, but he would go up Newbury side as far as Haverhill, and there come over; 2d, Captain Gerrish proposed letting some of their foot stay, and those come home who are at hand, and can soon come over if need. For which I was thankful—not having it in my power to determine anything; but I said, as before, it was Simon and his crew, I doubted not; with which Captain Appleton seemed not satisfied. At last, understanding there was a ferry at Amesbury, he resolved to march up thither, and

there meet with Ensign Greenleaf and his men, if I would write to the Amesbury men and him to meet them there, and as further intelligence should be, so to conclude. But because of the weight of the business, I went myself to meet them; but by reason of the Amesbury men's unreadiness, as well as Ensign Greenleaf's, the gentlemen were gone when we came to the ferry, and had sent over twenty men. This is the full of the case, as far as I know. The enemy still remains, as is evident by every day's intelligence; and the people are shut up in garrisons there. Neither do any stir about anything. We stand on our defence, though now much discouraged and grieved to see ourselves forsaken in such apparent danger; but the Lord is in heaven, and doth whatsoever pleaseth him.

Sir, just as I am writing came the enclosed to me from Amesbury, as also a signification that Sergeant Belcher is not yet gone off by reason of their emergencies. We are by God's help endeavoring this day to find out the enemy in his dismal lurking holes, and to improve the little strength we have to the utmost; for we are kept from our occasions, and must inevitably end miserably if the Lord be not merciful to us by driving the enemy away, or sending some to be helpful to us, as we have helped others in the like case, which we humbly conceive is no more than just. The seat of the war being now in our eastern parts, if we are driven out it is apparent who will go next. Our humble request is to the honored Council that they would be pleased to take our case into their serious consideration, and to afford us some assistance of men, whereby we may be enabled to subsist, at least till we see how the Lord will be pleased to determine concerning this wretched enemy, or until we have got in some of our harvest. We are in greater danger than is imagined, in consequence of the thickness of our woods, that conceal the enemy until he is upon us, and makes all our endeavors against them fruitless. By present intelligence they seem to be upon Amesbury, Salisbury, Exeter, and now, we hear, at Haverhill, and what will be next is with the Lord. The enclosed I have sent your honors, whereby it may appear that Simon and his crew, and such as have been our neighbors, are the enemy, or at least the guides of them that do oppress us. Humbly leaving our case

with your honor, and you to the direction of that infallible Guide and Saviour who alone is perfectly able to do whatsoever pleaseth him, I subscribe myself,

Your honor's most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

This letter resulted in a communication from the General Court to the major-general of the Massachusetts forces, concerning the fulfilment of his promise to Major Pike to furnish sufficient force to resist the enemy's head-quarters at "Ansebee." But the result of the application is not stated. After this we have nothing more up to the close of the war, which ended with the death of Philip in the following month.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOSTILITY OF THE MAGISTRATES. — APPEARANCE OF PARTY DIFFERENCES.—MAJOR PIKE IN FAVOR WITH THE DEPUTIES.

THROUGH the years 1678 and 1679 we only hear of Robert Pike in his appointment as associate justice for the Norfolk County courts, and for that of Dover and Portsmouth, his annual election and appointment as Magistrate seeming never to have been intermitted from the time of his first appointment.

In 1680 he is on the record as Deputy from Salisbury. In the preceding year the Rev. Mr. Wheelwright had departed this life, whence we may infer the necessity that occasioned the following petition. The good of society demanded that marriages should not be compelled to await the tardy action of the church in settling a new pastor. At least such was the view of "several" of the people of Salisbury. According, the following action was taken:

Several of the inhabitants of the town of Salisbury humbly crave the favor of this honored Court that, considering our remoteness from any Magistrate, or any one invested with power to join persons in marriage, that they would be pleased to appoint some meet person in our town for the end aforesaid.

In answer to this motion, the Deputies judge meet that Major Pike be empowered to solemnize marriage at Salisbury, provided one at least of the parties being inhabitant there, and that they be published according to law, our honored Magistrates consenting hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clericus.*

Yet the following brief record shows that a majority of the Magistrates opposed the proposition. Whether this was occasioned by their want of sympathy in the case, from the circumstance of having themselves long before passed the stage of celibacy, or whether it might be the lingering remains of prejudice against the belligerent old Puritan, on account of his past controversy on the claims of the clergy, and his sinful tendencies toward a common-sense view of things, we are left to conjecture. The curt rejection of the proposition is thus expressed:

June 2d, 1680.

The Magistrates consent not hereto.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

What follows induces us to think there was at this period a decided feeling of hostility between the two branches of the Legislature. For it will be seen that in the next year, when the House assented to a petition of Robert Pike of a most reasonable character, the Magistrates again interposed their veto, which they offered to forego on the condition that the same thing he petitioned for should be granted to somebody else. This action appears to be indicative of the Magistrates' opinion that the House of Deputies were more inclined to favor Robert Pike's propositions than those of their own particular friends. There is plenty of room here for the conjecture that the contest over the rights of the Quakers, and involving "civil and ecclesiastical liberty" in general, was by no means dormant, and that a literal report of the debates of those early days would afford piquant reading. While a strong conservative force evidently held the field, the House was apparently at this period on the side of Robert Pike. At all events there was a sympathy with him, which a certain jaunty tone in some of his remarks indicates, that he felt

he could rely upon, in the body to which he belonged. On one occasion, as we shall see, he asks the House for a decision on one side or the other of a proposition of his own, intimating that he would be much obliged to them if they would not grant his request, which, it would appear, he had preferred merely in the line of his duty. He writes as follows:

MAY IT PLEASE THE HONORED COURT,—These may inform you that the commission granted to the subscriber for the conduct of our troop was under the name of the "County Troop of Norfolk;" but now two of the towns are gone off, and the county is extinguished. I am about to seek what is to be done, especially seeing the Court are not pleased to re-establish the county again. My humble request, therefore, is that this Court will be pleased to let me know what they further expect from me respecting the remainder of the said troop.

ROBERT PIKE.

In response to this application it was

Voted by the Deputies, that the troopers in those towns remaining in this colony, belonging to the late county of Norfolk, shall be and remain under the command of Major Robert Pike, and that he hath liberty granted him to enlist such into his said troop as shall be willing to be enlisted out of the other towns in the county of Essex, being qualified according to law.

The Deputies passed this, our honored Magistrates consenting. Per order, ELISHA HUTCHINSON.

June 1st, 1681.

Here comes the bluff dissent:

Not consented to by the Magistrates.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Then comes the conditional consent:

June 2d, 1681.

The Magistrates consent hereto, provided that Captain William Browne have the like liberty of enlisting to make up his

troop in Salem to the number of sixty-four, besides officers, and that those that do enlist in these troops be such as are already enlisted in any other troop: their brethren the Deputies hereto consenting. EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

The Deputies consent June 2d, 1681.
Per order, ELISHA HUTCHINSON.

But the animus of the Magistrates is still more clearly seen in their action in refusing to rectify a little wrong, which the major refers to in the following letter. The House grants his petition, and then comes the record: "The Magistrates consent not." Then the document is sent up to the Governor, and it comes back with his approval and the Magistrates' concurrence. The petition follows:

To the Honored General Court now sitting at Boston, October 14th, 1681.

MAY IT PLEASE YOU TO UNDERSTAND,—That in or about the year 1677, in answer to a motion of the militia of the town of Salisbury, this Court were pleased to pass an order for a commission to examine and allow the accounts of your suppliant, the subscriber hereof; which they accordingly did, and allowed him twenty pounds, as by the said bill, dated the 8th of January, 1677, may appear. And the said bill was delivered to the constable for the satisfying of so much of his then rates to the country; and the constable brought it to the honored Mr. Hull, the then treasurer. The treasurer, supposing it should have first been approved by some other committee before he could allow it, or that this honored Court should declare their own intention about it, it was left with the treasurer by the constable, and could not for some time be found. By that means your subscriber is in danger of paying the money again, unless relieved by this Court.

It is therefore the humble request of your suppliant that this honored Court will be pleased so to order that he may have the benefit of the said order, and so grant an issue of that trou-

ble and danger; and he shall, as in duty bound, always pray for your prosperity. Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

October 27th, 1681.

The Deputies have voted that the petitioner be paid this twenty pounds by the treasurer, and desire our honored Magistrates' consent hereto. WILLIAM TORREY, *Clericus.*

The Magistrates consent not hereto.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

This being presented to the Governor and Magistrates, the 18th October, 1682, they consented to the Deputy vote for payment. As attests, EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Consented to by the Deputies.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clericus.*

And so ends the absurd animosity.

CHAPTER XV.

AMUSING PROSECUTION OF MAJOR PIKE FOR VIOLATING THE SABBATH.— ELECTED AS ASSISTANT.—TROOP PETITIONS.

An amusing incident in Robert Pike's life occurs about this period. The following brief notice of it is extracted from the records of the County Court, under date of May 4th, 1680:

Major Robert Pike, upon his presentment, convicted by evidence for profaning the Sabbath, is fined ten shillings in money, and to pay costs and fees eight shillings.

Here is this pious man, Magistrate, member of the church and of the General Court, whose whole life is a savor of godliness and a testimony to his righteousness, suddenly found among the registered culprits, for the heinous offence of profaning the Lord's Day.

An examination brings the following curious details to light, from papers on file among the records of the court:

The testimony of Henry Roby, who saith: That being at the house of Major Pike, at Salisbury, the Saturday before the Court of Assistants in March last, Nehemiah Partridge called at the house of Major Pike after sunset a good while, as he was going to Hampton, and among other things that the major asked him, he told him that his brother, Ed. Gove, was gone toward Boston, or that way, for he parted with him at Ipswich. He further said the ways were so rotten already with the thaw, that if it continued till Monday it would be almost impossible

to get to Boston in two days. This put us on a strait what to do, fearing Gove would get his business over before we should come there; and the resolution was only to go to Newbury a Lord's Day night, that so the danger of the bridge and ferry might be secured, which thing we did.

I do further testify, that though it was pretty late ere Mr. Burrows ended his afternoon's exercise, yet did the major stay till, in Mrs. Stockman's [his daughter's] house, repetition of both forenoon and afternoon's sermons was over, and the duties of the day concluded with prayer; and after a little stay, to be sure the sun was down, then we mounted, and not till then. The sun did indeed set in a cloud, and after we were mounted I do remember the major spake of lightning up where the sun set; but I saw no sun. It was, as I remember, as we passed the street between Ephraim Winsley's and Captain Bradbury's, but it was quickly gone and no appearance of it, but began to grow darkish or duskish by the time that we got to the bridge.

Sworn the 3d May, 1680, before me.

SAMUEL DALTON,
One of the Council of H. M.'s Prov. of N. H.

Ephraim Winsley swears:

The deposition of Ephraim Winsley, who saith: That I did see Major Robert Pike ride by my house towards the ferry upon the Lord's Day. As I did apprehend, the sun was about half an hour high at evening, and it was the beginning of March last past, the sun at that time shining.

Sworn in court held at Ipswich, 30 (1), 1680.

ROBERT LORD, *Clerk.*

Cornet Jo. Severnes, upon oath in court held at Ipswich, the 4th of May, 1680, testified to the truth of what is above sworn unto by Ephraim Winsley.

As attests, ROBERT LORD, *Clerk.*

And now Stephen Tong or Tongue, the Quaker, appears, and tells us what he saw:

May the 3d, 1680.

The affirmation of Stephen Tong, aged 40 years or thereabout: I do affirm, and am ready to depose, that I did see the Major Pike when he took horse that day that he went toward Boston (as was said) in March last, and I do affirm that it was about sunset. The sun did indeed set in a cloud, and a little after the major was mounted there appeared a light where the sun went down, which soon vanished again, possibly half a quarter of an hour. But not expecting anything about it, did not take exact notice; but am quite sure they that spoke of half an hour do greatly miss it. All which I am ready to testify, as witness my mark, O.

Such is the story of this wicked man's offence. It was March. The roads were breaking up and the streams rising, or, as a witness deposed, "the ways were rotten," and the ferry had to be passed. It was the Lord's Day. The major had attended church forenoon and afternoon, and heard two sermons from the Rev. Mr. Burrows. Both discourses had been reviewed and prayerfully considered in the family of his favorite daughter, Sarah Stockman, where he appears at that time to have been staying, he having lost his wife the previous November; and the pious old Puritan had finished the day with the customary evening prayers. Urgent business called him and his friend to Boston, usually a two days' journey, but not to be accomplished now, in that spring time, unless the road to the ferry and the foaming Merrimack were safely passed the night before starting on the journey. The holy day was over at sunset. To escape the darkness of the coming night, the two friends waited impatiently for the going down of the sun. A cloud was on the western horizon; the sun fell behind it; the light had departed. Should this be deemed a constructive sunset? Robert thought it might, and started with his companion. But, as ill luck

would have it, as they passed Ephraim Winsley's house a few minutes later, a little gleam appeared on the horizon for an instant, just as the departing god of day finally sunk out of sight behind the Amesbury hills.

The wicked Ephraim! He it was who was at the bottom of the subsequent scandal. He had a grudge against the major, and now was his chance to be avenged. Malice kindled in his heart as he saw how he could take advantage of his neighbor's indiscretion. We will show what ground we have for this judgment upon the wicked Ephraim.

In the old Norfolk County court records, under date of 12th of 2d month, 1653, appears this record: "Lieutenant Pike entered his dissent to Samuel Winsley serving on the jury."

Again, eleven years afterward, in 1664, we find this entry on the books of the court: "Samuel Winsley, plaintiff, against Captain Robert Pike, defendant, in an action of appeal from a judgment of the Selectmen of Salisbury, in a case of replevin for undue impounding of his cattle, etc. Plaintiff withdraws the appeal."

Now here is a plain case of hostility running through eleven years; first Pike *versus* Winsley, then Winsley *versus* Pike. But Samuel has grown old, and now Ephraim appears, and it is yet again Winsley *versus* Pike. Of course we infer that Ephraim is the son, and that it is the old grudge breaking out in a new place. With such ease do we establish our supposition that this prosecution did not result from any sacred impulse, but was the fruit of a malevolent heart.

In the year 1682 Robert Pike was elevated from his place in the House to the post of "Assistant." The Board of Assistants conformed in its general character to the

present Council, only with more authority. It was from this body that the governors were generally chosen. Those elected to it were usually taken from among the more grave and substantial of the Deputies, and the tenure of their office was practically more permanent than that of the more popular body. Robert Pike continued to be elected Assistant until his final retirement from public affairs in 1695–6, when he had attained the age of fourscore years.

In 1684 we come upon some further signs of hostility of the Magistrates. Major Pike was now near seventy, but he still figures as the active commander of his old troop of horse, of which he was captain a quarter of a century before.

As we have seen, some new adjustments of county lines had lost him a portion of his troop, and he again petitions for the action of the General Court to make substitution, or let him know their pleasure, whatever it is. But the Magistrates are again found a hinderance. He recites the whole case in the communication which follows, and finally succeeds in securing definite action upon it:

To the Honored General Court now sitting in Boston, May 10th, 1684.

May it please your honors to remember, that since the great change of affairs eastward, in consequence of the towns of Hampton and Exeter being taken from the county, in which two towns a great part of the troop of Norfolk did reside, the affairs of the remaining part of the said troop have been several times under consideration in this court; and once an order was given for the making up of the said troop out of the next adjacent towns on the other side of the Merrimack River. This has been since altered by ordering them to be a troop of themselves, under conduct of Captain Dummer, so that the said troop of Norfolk remains broken.

For the repairing thereof, application was this session made to this honored Court for these three things, namely, that Major Pike may remain their conductor, as before; 2, that the troop may be made up out of the three towns on the north side of the Merrimack; 3, that they may not, in their ordinary exercise, be constrained to go over the river; which request of theirs is by the honored Magistrates denied; which necessarily occasions me to request a further explanation of your meaning in your vote, so that I may not be accounted a transgressor in your service, either in doing or not doing, namely, whether your meaning be that there shall be no troop, or that it shall be no bigger, or that it shall not be conducted by Major Pike; which resolution will much oblige,

Your humble servant, ROBERT PIKE.

And I shall faithfully give you my sense of the case, as in duty I am bound.

May 10th, 1684.

In answer to this motion of Major Robert Pike, it is ordered by this Court, that Major Pike is allowed to enlist so many men for troopers, out of the three foot companies of Haverhill, Salisbury, and Amesbury, in proportion to the numbers of the said companies, as to make the troop forty-eight men, besides officers, provided this troop be under command of Major Robert Pike for their captain; and Major Pike is ordered to present to the next session of this Court the names of other commissioned officers to complete the said troop.

And in enlisting the said addition out of the foot companies, this Court doth dispense with all qualifications of the persons in point of paying the country rate, provided they be otherwise qualified with ability of body and sufficient horse and arms.

The Magistrates have passed this, their brethren the Deputies hereto consenting.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Consented to by the Deputies. Per order,

JOHN LAFFIN.

CHAPTER XVI.

POPULAR AND ROYALIST PARTIES. — FALL OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS. — REVOLUTION OF 1688. — ROBERT PIKE'S APPOINTMENT AS ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY. — MORE INDIAN DEPREDATIONS AND MURDERS. — LETTERS OF MAJOR PIKE.

THE semi-republican Puritan colonies in New England, which had flourished under Cromwell from 1650 to 1660, began, soon after the restoration of Charles II., in the latter year, to be the subjects of harassing examination and treatment by the home government. All sorts of annoyances, oppressions, and exactions were practised, the natural result of which was the creation of parties in the colonies. The creatures and instruments of arbitrary power made their appearance in the virgin colony of Massachusetts Bay. The lines between the popular party, and the royalists or the party of prerogative and arbitrary power, grew gradually more and more distinct as the years rolled by. Before the end of twenty years the distinction became as apparent and as generally recognized as that between the same parties immediately anterior to the revolution of 1775; and the divisions then were upon the same general principles as in the latter era.

In this division of parties we of course know where to look for Robert Pike. Dr. Palfrey, in his "History of New England," thus testifies:

> Of the popular party, Danforth, the deputy governor, a man of excellent abilities and virtue, was the acknowledged head.

With him were Gookin, Norvell, Saltonstall, Richards, and others among the Magistrates, and numerous prominent names among the Deputies, as Cook, Brattle, Hathorne, Wait, Hutchinson, and Pike.

On the other side were the crowd of parasites who always throng about the footstool of power, with able and unscrupulous men for leaders, such as Stoughton, Bradstreet, Dudley, Denison, and Randolph. As in more modern times, some were weakly conservative, and some wickedly so. As the representatives and favorites of the despotic ruler at home, they were, of course, a most formidable party. In those early days of resistance to kingly power, it was no holiday work to engage in persistent hostility to them. Yet such was the necessity of the popular party; and it was kept up in one form and another, until the whole fabric of popular government fell before the blows of the oppressor. The claims of arbitrary power grew more and more imperious, until at length they culminated in the abrogation of the Massachusetts Charter in 1684, and popular government in Massachusetts ceased to exist.

During this period we have found Robert Pike successfully contesting the arrogant claims of clerical domination. That he was as active on the political field we cannot doubt; it is a necessary inference from his character and the position he occupied. But the records are not full enough to enable us to measure the precise degree of this activity. We learn from a note in Mr. Palfrey's history (vol. iii., p. 275) that Robert Pike, in 1672, is found advising Robert Mason in regard to his claims to New Hampshire, made before the British Privy Council. He seems to fear that Mason will make some concession that is injurious, and proposes that the General Court act in aid of Mason, in order to prevent it. In his proposal to Mason,

which, it seems, is preserved among the colonial papers in the State-paper Office in London, he begs him (Mason) "not to proceed" in a "treaty with his Majesty about the surrender of the estate." We find in this brief record an evidence of the busy hand of the Deputy from Salisbury, trying to thwart the enemies of Massachusetts in their efforts, and his characteristic manner of doing justice to others.

But when all measures had proved insufficient, and all efforts had failed, in this long contest of four-and-twenty years, to preserve the rights and liberties of Massachusetts, the heroes of the contest on the popular side were forced into temporary retirement. Spiritual and civil tyranny were for a brief period in the ascendant. From May, 1686, to April, 1689, arbitrary power, in the persons of Dudley and Andros, had entire sway over Massachusetts. The people were robbed by a corrupt band of officers, who made no end of their plundering exactions. And there was no remedy. The General Court was suppressed, and the courts of law were the new instruments of the tyranny which held the people captive. But the revolution of 1688 took place in England, and that of 1689 quickly followed in Massachusetts. The people rose and dispossessed the knaves who had rifled their pockets and trodden their rights under foot. Prudence forbade the execution of justice upon these great offenders, and they escaped the penalty due to their crimes.

On the overthrow of Governor Andros, a provisional government was extemporized. The representatives of the popular party in 1686 were recalled, to assume control in 1689. A Committee of Safety was formed, and Robert Pike was appointed one of its members. The government was afterward speedily reconstructed, and then he was reinstated in his old place as Magistrate and Assistant. A

judicious winnowing took place in constituting the new government, but Robert Pike was retained, and Governor Hutchinson afterward testified to the great merit of the selections made.*

In the summer of the first year of the new administration the Indian depredations and murders broke out afresh, and to these the following letters refer:

Portsmouth, June 28th, 1689.

Major Robert Pike:

HONORED SIR,—Herewith we send you an account of the Indians surprising Cochecha this morning, which we pray you immediately to post away to the honorable the Governor and Council in Boston, and forward our request for present assistance, wherein the whole country is immediately concerned.

We are, sir, your most humble servants,

RICHARD MARTYN,
WILLIAM VAUGHAN,
RICHARD WALDRON, JR.,
THO. GRAFFORT,
SAM. WENTWORTH,
REU. HULL,
PH. SIURET.

[Superscribed: "To the honored Major Robert Pike, at Salisbury; haste, post-haste."]

The account referred to follows:

Portsmouth, June 28th, 1689. About 8 o'clock in the morning.

Just now there came ashore here from Cochecha John Ham and his wife, who went home last night (they living within a mile of Major Waldron), and about break of the day, going up the river in a canoe, they heard guns fired, but notwithstanding proceeded to land at Major Waldron's landing-place, by which time it began to be light. Then they saw about twenty Indians near Mr. Coffin's garrison, shooting and shouting, and as

* Hutchinson says: "The twenty-eight councillors appointed under the new *regime* in 1692 were persons of the best character in the several parts of the colonies."

many more about Richard Otis's and Thomas Paine's. They saw their way clear to Major Waldron's, where they intended immediately to secure themselves; but coming to the garrison, and calling and knocking, they received no answer, yet saw a light in one of the chambers, and one of them says that, looking through a crack of the gate, he saw sundry Indians within the garrison. He supposed they had murdered Major Waldron and his family, and thereupon they determined to make an escape, which they did, and met with one of Otis's sons, who also escaped from his father's garrison, informing us that his father and the rest of the family were killed. Quickly after the Indians set sundry houses on fire. This is all the account we have at present, which being given in a surprise may admit of some alteration; but doubtless the men of those families at or about Cochecha are destroyed.

The above account was related to me.

RICHARD WALDRON, JR.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, June 28th, 1689. About noon.

MUCH HONORED,—After due respect, these are only to give your honors the sad account of the last night's providence at Cochecha, as by the enclosed the particulars whereof are awful. The only wise God, who is the keeper of Israel, that neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, is pleased to permit what is done. Possibly it may be either better or worse than this account renders it; as soon as I can get more intelligence, I shall, God willing, speed it to your honors, praying your speedy order or advice in so solemn a case. I have despatched the intelligence to other towns, with advice to look to themselves. I shall not be wanting to serve in what I may: should have waited on your honors ere now, had I been well.

I shall not now come, except by you commanded, till this bustle be abated. That the only wise God may direct all your weighty affairs, is the prayer of your honors' most humble servant, ROBERT PIKE.

[Superscribed: "To the much honored Simon Bradstreet, Esq., Governor, and the honored Council now sitting at Boston, these present with all speed; haste, post-haste."]

"Received about twelve at night, upon Friday June 28th."

Salisbury, June 30th, 1689. 12 at night.

MUCH HONORED,—By my last to you the last night, I gave your honors the sense of the country about the present commotion after these cruel murders, and intended your honors no further trouble in the case till I had received your pleasure therein, and till I had seen who would have moved off the last night and this morning. There was an account given of considerable numbers likely to go.

Mr. Vaughan being with me this night at Salisbury, and desiring the conveyance of the enclosed, and hearing also that Captain —— was to come down, have taken occasion to trouble your honors before I am able to give you that account I expected. I fear, by what I just now hear, that the design is in a great measure obstructed, if it be true that we hear, namely, that sixty men intending to go from Ipswich as volunteers refused, in consequence of Major Appleton's impressing some of them. I would hope it is not so, the rather because if it be true, as Thomas Paine reports, namely, that about thirty miles off there is a pond or lake, with several islands in it, to which they may resort with their plunder, and leave it secure; and from whence they can go to the [Hudson?] river or anywhere. But I hope, seeing they are Penacook and Eastern Indians, they may not go to that lake, but to their own country; but it is with the Lord. But which way soever they go, delays are hazardous. I have not to add but my prayers to the Almighty for your direction, and that I am your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

CHAPTER XVII.

ROBERT PIKE'S CORRESPONDENCE.—INDIAN MASSACRES AT THE EAST.—COMPLAINTS FROM MAJOR PIKE OF THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE AUTHORITIES.

THE time between 1686 and 1689 is regarded as a hiatus in the Massachusetts government, of which no official notice was taken in the proceedings of the new administration. The following letter shows one of the phases of reconstruction under the new *regime:*

The return of the troop of Salisbury, Haverhill, and Amesbury to the honored General Court or Council now sitting in Boston, July 22d, 1689.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—In obedience to and pursuance of the order of court requiring the present state of the militia, our troops, by order, did meet at Haverhill the 11th instant for the end aforesaid, or as many as the distractions of the times would permit. The troop upon the new list appeared to be about 54, of which were wanting at that time 17: of Salisbury, 7; of Haverhill, 7; and of Amesbury, 3. It was therefore propounded fairly whether we should proceed to nomination or stay longer, and it was agreed to proceed, only to defer it till the afternoon, that it might be done with all possible deliberation. Accordingly, in the afternoon we mounted, drew up into a ring, and desired them to bring their votes to me in the middle, which thing they did, our major being present, in whose presence the votes were openly told, which were as followeth:

First votes for a lieutenant were 31; of which for Mr. Simon Wainwright were 29. Votes for a cornet were 31; of which for Mr. Richard Hubbard were 23, for Mr. Peter Ayres were 8.

Vote for quartermaster: Mr. Peter Ayres 19, for Jacob Morrell 13.

Elected by the major vote: Mr. Wainwright, lieutenant; Mr. Hubbard, cornet; Mr. Ayres, quartermaster.

All was done and carried on without so much as one word of contest or controversy. It is now our humble request to your honors to signify your allowance thereto, and to order their commissions accordingly, except you see reason to the contrary. In submission to all which I take leave to subscribe myself, Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

By virtue of the aforesaid order, finding myself to have commission dated from the year 1683 [1686], do take it to be in force the 12th of May, 1686 [1689], and upon that account pass for captain of the troop till your honors declare the contrary.

The following, without date, appears to belong to this period. It exhibits the detail of service performed, and gives the names of those who were on duty; interesting, perhaps, in a genealogical point of view, if in no other. It shows the active old trooper of seventy-three years still ready to lead his men in pursuit of their savage foe.

MUCH HONORED SIR,—In obedience to your command I have given out my warrants for impressing, and order our rendezvous at Haverhill, Wednesday, where I now am, to attend their appearance. I received your order Tuesday, between four and five in the afternoon, and have now sent those that are come, who are as in this list ensuing. Per your humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE, SR., *Major.*

The list of the Names of the Soldiers sent to Marlborough from Norfolk and Piscataqua.

Salisbury.—John Carter, Ephraim Browne, Abra. Browne, Thomas Clough.

Amesbury.—John Weed, Joseph Larg, Francis Wainwright.

Hampton.—Mr. John Stanian, Thomas Cram, Caleb Perkins, John Huggens, Jacob Garland, Abra. Chase, John Philbrick, John Palmer.

Haverhill.—Samuel Watts, Thomas Duston, Joseph Bond, John Jonson, John Clement.

Portsmouth.—Hubert Mattoon, John Lewis, James Joans, Robert Hinksman, John King, William Willy, James Bracket, Philip Cartty.

HONORED SIR,—It is now Thursday morning, and there is yet wanting, of what my warrants required, one returned short from Portsmouth; no return yet from Exeter, only one man come, three more expected, according to warrants; from Dover no return yet, whence eight are expected, according to warrant.

I was not willing to retard the march of these present, but intend to send the others after as soon as they appear, who are: From Dover, 8; from Portsmouth, 1; from Exeter, 3. In all 12.

I have ordered Mr. John Stanian and Samuel Watts to conduct this party to your honors.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, July 29th, 1689.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—Just now came the enclosed from Captain Sherborne, and I sent a copy thereof immediately to Mr. John March of Newbury, whose motion was this day expected to Haverhill, where they expected to meet with some from your parts, and go immediately for Penicook; on which design divers of our town and others were prepared to go with them, whom we expected over this morning according to agreement. But instead thereof, just now two Haverhill men are come from him, who say that, by means of some discouragement from Haverhill, all is knocked in the head. I asked what discouragement it was, and they said that March, sending his brother to Haverhill for intelligence of their forwardness, Mr. Wainwright told him it was not approved of by their town, nor by the major nor himself; nor were any others to come there from other places, nor none out of their town. So by two or three sorry fellows the design is retarded.

I doubt not but the account of the slaughter at Saco is come to your hands, and that at Sagadahock, on Lord's Day, 28th instant, came a letter to me and Captain Church, from Portsmouth, signifying that the province forces had their rendezvous at Newichwannock on Wednesday, the 12th instant, and that at the news of the slaughter aforesaid at Saco, Major Frost and Captain ——, parting from the rest, went eastward to those parts. Captain Wincoll and the rest, about 160 or 170, on the 26th instant passed over a brook for Piqueacket, and from thence sent back the horses by thirteen men, desir-

ing them to be there again with provisions on Wednesday, and they were in the mean while to go to the Indian head-quarters on the east of the pond. The Portsmouth men desired from us some men to have made their convoy stronger; but, by reason of the suddenness of the request, and the present motion to Penicook, and some of our men being now at Haverhill, we could afford them none. And now, all that design being quashed, is very grievous to all with us, and looked upon as a sad omen, with Wells next. God only knows I thought it but my duty to give your honors notice speedily. People in these solemn cases think I say much. The Lord unite your counsels and the people's hearts, which are extremely put out of frame, that we may be a people saved of the Lord, though a people that destroy ourselves.

I am your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

The bearer hereof says that there is yet hope, if encouraged by your honors: his reasons, or what else necessary, he will be present with you to inform you.

The foregoing letter exhibits an impatience of the inaction of the central authority in affording no succor to the sorely tried and greatly menaced settlements of the eastern frontiers. The writer's confession that people think he is unduly active in his complaints, will meet with the sympathy of the reader, who will not join in such criticism. It was not a time for reserve, and yet we see by his closing sentence that, while he struggles hard with his condemnation of the want of efficiency manifested, he controls its expression within respectful bounds.

The following letter of Captain Sherborne is the one referred to as enclosed:

Hampton, July 30th, 1689.

Major Pike:

SIR,—These are to inform you that this last night there came news to me from Exeter, that one of Philip Cromwell's sons came yesterday from Oyster River, where were twenty In-

dians seen, and several houses burning. About twenty English issued out to beat them off. Many guns were heard go off, but as he came away while it was adoing, we have not as yet any account of what harm there is done. We thank you for your care about our convoy, although no help could be procured. But a few could be procured with us, the notice was so sudden, but those that are gone went yesterday, when it was almost night. They were willing to stay no longer. When I have account further from Oyster River I will send it to you. Not else at present. From your friend,

SAMUEL SHERBORNE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A LETTER OF SUPPLICATION, INSTRUCTION, AND REPROOF. — ALARMING DANGER FROM THE SAVAGES.— NEW HAMPSHIRE AFFAIRS.—EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF NATHANIEL WEARE.

We have another midnight letter, written under appalling circumstances. A neighboring settlement has been destroyed, and nineteen persons butchered or taken captive. Major Pike's own town has been stripped of its fighting men, and no aid is coming. The savages are in great force in the vicinity, and the inhabitants are informed by a captured Indian that it and three neighboring towns are marked for speedy destruction. No wonder the writer says the consternation is such that "he dare not move, nor hardly to stay." The wolf is at his unguarded door, and it is almost equally unsafe to stay and await his attack or to sally forth and face him single-handed. But there seems to be a determination to meet the worst, whatever that may be, and no horror can be greater than that of the apprehension that the town is to be sacked by savages while it is yet filled with helpless women and children.

But in the midst of this awful prospect our friend sits down at midnight and coolly pens a letter, in which description, satire, complaint, and appeal are about equally blended. The writer evidently longs to apply some Bible texts he has in his mind to the authorities who have neglected and are neglecting their duty at this fearful juncture,

but he represses his desire, and only refers them to Solomon generally. We have to leave the subject in the cloud in which he has purposely enveloped it. It is only plain that he does not feel at liberty to express that degree of censure which he would like to bestow.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, September 13th, 1689. 12 at night.

MUCH HONORED SIRS,—My humble service premised, with that of the rest of our militia and all our inhabitants, these rude and hasty lines are once more to revive our former address and supplication, which lies before you, for some relief of men in our desperate condition. We are a frontier town, that lies as open to danger as any in the country. We have had some killed in it, besides great loss of corn and hay, for want of help to save it. When I waited on your honors on this account you were pleased to tell me that when the army did go forth we should have what help we desired, and that in the meanwhile the men of the regiment would relieve us. But we found the contrary, for instead of sending home our six men that had been long in garrison at Haverhill, or any other, there was ordered a press of eleven more out of our town; so that there are seventeen taken out of our town, and are kept at Haverhill. These are, as I am informed, a fourth part of our serviceable men. We need nine constantly, which is too little, but not so much as one man has looked after us, at which there is great discontent and perplexity. For some redress we sent to Haverhill on Thursday last, but Major Saltonstall and Captain Noyes being both at Cambridge, we lost our labor and almost our patience also. The solemn news this evening from Oyster River not only startles but almost distracts us, to see ourselves so neglected when the very stroke is ready to fall upon us, and our small help taken from us by those that should endeavor our preservation. I have daily occasion to take notice of Solomon's observation of oppression, and that upon wise men.

Our humble request is unto your honors once more, that we may be presently relieved with about forty men, if possible.

If it be not possible, then that you would please to order our own men to be with us. We do not intend that we would have them released, but that they may serve the country here till necessity commands them off. The captive reports that our four towns are intended to be destroyed by themselves this week or the next, and skulking rogues are daily seen in our towns that do observe all things.

The account that we have concerning Oyster River is, that about an hour after the soldiers were marched out of the garrison, and six or seven were gathering corn, the Indians came and killed them, and then took the garrison. They bound a woman, while they cut her husband in pieces while alive; took her seven children and knocked out their brains against the walls; then killed the woman and set the fort on fire, and so went away. Some of the soldiers met and skirmished with some of them, but it soon ceased. The number slain and carried away is said to be nineteen. The towns that are designed for present destruction are Hampton and Exeter, Salisbury and Amesbury. The number of the Indians is declared by the captive to be about four hundred; but Mr. Woodman did not see above sixty pass by his garrison at Oyster River. This is in brief what is yet to come to us.

We further humbly request that we may, some way or other, certify to the people that here is a government and law, which is commonly denied, because of that unhappy superscription that was published when the government was restored, namely: that the subscribers did not intend the reassuming of the charter government, nor would be so understood; and nothing since is published to declare the contrary, which proves a most deadly mischief among us in these times of distress, say what we can. I have heard that something is in print that would solve it, but it never came so far as the Merrimack.

I should wait upon your honors, as in duty bound, but our present consternation is such as I dare not move, nor hardly to stay. The Lord establish our hearts in Him, and guide all your counsels.

We should gladly hear of the issue of the treaty with the Mohawks, and that our magazines were furnished.

I waited on Major Swain the last week at Kittery, and left him with Major Frost, who would accompany him to the east.

I humbly crave your pardon for all these distracted lines, and [hope for a] favorable return.

The bearer hereof will more fully acquaint your honors with the state of things with us than is meet for me to trouble you with by writing, who am, and desire to subscribe myself to be, Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

But we find the writer engaged in other public duties of a different character about this period. He is solicited for his assistance in the affairs of the neighboring province. We have no further knowledge in respect to the subject than what appears in the following "extracts of a letter from Nathaniel Weare, Esq., to Major Robert Pike, one of the Assistants of Massachusetts Colony," in the New Hampshire Historical Collections (vol. i., p. 135). Nathaniel Weare belonged to Hampton. He was appointed agent for the province of New Hampshire in the time of Cranfield, and went to England in 1683. He was the ancestor of Meshech Weare, Chief-justice of that State and President of its Council for many years.

Hampton, March 15th, 1689-90.

Major Pike:

HONORED SIR,—The many revolutions and changes that have happened abroad are very wonderful and almost amazing. Besides, what has happened among and upon ourselves is very awful, and things look very dark. The consideration thereof is so oppressive that I cannot but seek for some ease, and I know no better way (as to man) than to communicate some things to your honor, from whose prudent direction I may receive much satisfaction, and shall therefore crave the boldness to offer a few lines to your consideration, not to meddle with things further off. . . . . It is no new thing to tell you that . . . . . we had no governors nor authority in this province, so as to answer the ends of government, and to command

and do in the defence of their Majesties' subjects against the common enemy. Therefore many essays were made in this province to make some government till their Majesties should take further order, but all proved ineffectual..... The inhabitants of the town of Hampton began to be very jealous of their friends and neighbors, that they would bring them under several inconveniences, in commanding from them their men and money as they pleased, and so were very hard to be brought to anything. But after several meetings and debates they chose six persons as commissioners, with power according to the other towns, viz., Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, and after debates, jointly and fully, every man then present agreed to such a method as was then drawn up..... But all proved ineffectual. After some time the apprehension of the necessity of some orderly way of government, thereby to be in the better method to defend themselves against the common enemy, seemed to enforce them to another essay for the obtaining thereof. So [some] inhabitants of Portsmouth drew up and signed a petition to the honorable the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Colony, to take this province into their care and protection and government, as formerly. The other towns, Dover and Exeter, complied with it, how generally I know not. It was brought to Hampton on the 28th of February last past, when the soldiers were there warned to appear for concerns specified in said order, but no intimation given as to the end of signing the petition..... Copies I suppose yourself have. What was done on that day I need not tell. Yourself knows very well. But this I shall insert, that choosing of major, treasurer, and recorder, was not according to former usage and custom. It was pressed by some to have it voted whether they would, in this town of Hampton, acquiesce and comply with the petition and the return, or words to that effect, which yourself was pleased to say all would be knocked on the head at one blow. Now, how comfortable it will be for about fifty persons to prescribe the method and way of government for about two hundred, I shall leave to your honor to consider..... To have a government so imposed will, I fear, be followed by distractions, heart-burnings, disobedience to the supposed commanders, pub-

lic declarations, remonstrances set forth that may reach as far as England, and so make way for a person to be deputed by the Crown of England, that may, under color of commission, exercise his own will. .... I doubt not your wisdom will be exercised in this matter, and that we may have peace and unity with you, and that, at length, we may have a happy, peaceable settlement. And that the God of peace would by all means give us peace and truth, is the desire and prayer of Your very humble servant,

NATHANIEL WEARE.

CHAPTER XIX.

FURTHER CALLS FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE INDIANS.—MAJOR CHURCH SENT TO THE EAST.—ENUMERATION OF POPULATION BY ANDROS IN 1688.—ROBERT PIKE APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE EASTERN FORCES.—FURNISHES CHURCH WITH MEN FOR HIS EXPEDITION.—MAJOR PIKE'S LETTER.—HIS COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS.

The storm passed, and the menaced towns were spared. Either the moral force of their determination to meet the savage foe with such means as they had, or some material aid, enabled them to overcome the exigency, for this season at least. The next year, however, the grave necessity of further efforts in the same direction lay still upon them. The previous winter, Governor Andros, with one thousand men, had gone down to Pemaquid to chastise the eastern Indians in their homes. But it proved an abortive exploit. He found nobody, not even the Baron Castine and his Indian family, for the latter fled into the woods on the approach of the warlike governor. Andros could find neither French nor Indians, although it had occurred to him previously to try and trace their settlements, and he had accordingly despatched some agents to cruise along the coast and inlets all the way from the Penobscot to the St. Croix. As an interesting record of the population in eastern Maine at that period, we give the result of this enumeration of the white inhabitants, as found in a paper dated May 11th, 1688, published in the Hutchinson papers. It appears from

this record that there were at that time just thirty-eight (or possibly, with changes of punctuation, forty-one) inhabitants in the whole of Maine between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, of whom eleven were English and thirty French. Their names and residences are returned as follows:

At Penobscot.

St. Castin [Baron Castine], and Renne, his servant.

At Agemogin [Edgemoggin] Reach.

Charles St. Robin's son.
La Flower [La Fleur] and wife, St. Robin's daughter.

At Pettit Pleasance, by Mount Desert.

Lowrey, wife, and child. Hind's wife and four children—English.

In Winscheage [now Frenchman's] Bay, on the eastern side of Mount Desert.

Cadolick and wife. [We cannot suppose this to be the name of the person, but only a blind answer of an ignorant Frenchman to an imagined inquiry about his religion.]

At Machias.

Martell, who pretends grant for the river from Quebec. John Bretoon, wife, and child, of Jersey; Latin, wife, and three children—English; his servants.

At Passimaquody [Eastport], near St. Croix.

St. Robin, wife, and son, with like grant from Quebec. Letrell, John Minn's wife and four children; Lambert, and Jolly [Jolie] Cure, his servants.

At St. Croix [Calais].

Zorzy [Saussaye], and Lena, his servant. Grant from Quebec.

The renowned Indian fighter Captain Church, who had gained so much reputation both in King Philip's war and

previously, and who now (as major) appears on the scene in the east, followed the line of population indicated in the above record, in an expedition he conducted thither in 1704. But Church's first essay was made in the year 1690. At this time Robert Pike was commander-in-chief of all the Massachusetts forces east of the Merrimack, and Major Church, who headed some Plymouth troops destined for service against the eastern Indians, was sent to Pike to obtain an addition to his forces. Their co-operation was harmonious, and the requisite numbers were obtained and despatched under Church's immediate command.

Church was unsuccessful in this enterprise, and much complaint was made at his failure; but he found a faithful friend in Robert Pike, who wrote a letter to Governor Hinckley, of Plymouth Colony, defending him. This, and other papers relating to the expedition, will be found in the next chapter.

The following papers refer to the proceedings of this year, 1690:

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, May 18th, 1690. 5 in afternoon.

MUCH HONORED SIR,—All due respects premised, the enclosed came just now to my hand, which I presently despatched to your honor, and have not to add to it, but only that I did, upon Thursday last, give your honor the trouble of a letter on the behalf of these eastern parts, that the soldiers might have been in their places till some news from Sir William [Phips], which I hope came to your honor's hand, but I have never heard of nor seen the messenger sent. I doubt it came too late to prevent them, because they were then upon their march; and I have not to say more to it. But, "is there any evil in the city that I the Lord have not done it?" whoever are instruments. We have no intelligence lately of any enemies seen about us. The only wise God direct you in all your coun-

cils, that a good issue may come out of these evil things, which he only is able to effect; for whose presence with you I pray, taking leave to subscribe myself,

Your honor's most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, May 19th, 1690.

MUCH HONORED,—This is my third to your honors, which brings the sad news of what I at first feared. The Lord direct you in your councils for what is before you, that a stop may be put to the enemy's motion, or all this part of the country is lost if this news be true. I have not to add but my prayers to the Almighty God for your direction; and that I am

Your honors' most humble servant, ROBERT PIKE.

Everything is beautiful in its season, and once over cannot be recalled again. Thus it may become us to be the more speedy in what now is seasonable to be done for the preventing further mischief.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, May 24th, 1690.

MUCH HONORED,—After the tender of my humble service, these are only to give cover to the enclosed, which is only a further confirmation of the lamentable eastern desolation, and to beg your present assistance, or else all will be lost. I miserably lament the drawing off the soldiers, which now cannot be recalled; nor am I sure the place could have been saved if they had staid; but the occasion of evil reflections had been taken away, and we had been in the use of means for the safety of what is left, which is now our duty towards those that remain, which must be done presently, or else that will be too late also; which the good Lord prevent.

So prays your most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

The authorities at length heeded the voice of complaint which had been so often heard, and Major Pike was put in command of the military operations in the east, and Ma-

jor Church ordered to active service in the field under him, as we have already seen. The following are Major Pike's instructions:

MAJOR ROBERT PIKE,—In pursuance of your commission, given you by the Governor and General Court, to be commander-in-chief of all the forces detached or to be detached, out of the militia belonging to this colony of the Massachusetts, posted in the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, and such others as shall be put under your command:

You are to take all the said forces into your care and conduct, and to keep all your soldiers under good order and discipline, according to the laws and rules of war, and to see that the worship of God be carefully kept up, and all disorders, vice, or profaneness be suppressed or duly punished.

You are diligently to intend the defence and preservation of the lives and estates of their Majesties' subjects, and to repel the force of the enemy.

You are to take all care to inform yourself of the seat, state, and number of the enemy, and to improve your soldiers to pursue, prosecute, kill, and destroy them as you shall have opportunity, wheresoever they may be found.

You are in your proceedings to advise and consult with the commission officers of the several companies under your command (or so many of them as you shall have present opportunity), who are appointed to be of your council.

And also consult Major Vaughan and Major Frost, or other gentlemen of the province, when you shall be favored with their presence; from whom you may expect all needful assistance.

Give intelligence from time to time to the Governor and Council of your proceedings, and what shall occur.

(Signed), SIMON BRADSTREET, *Governor.*

With the advice and consent of the Council.

CHAPTER XX.

RESULTS OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITION UNDER MAJOR CHURCH. — MAJOR PIKE'S LETTERS TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, AND TO GOVERNOR HINCKLEY, OF PLYMOUTH COLONY. — MAJOR PIKE APPOINTED TO MAKE A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. — HIS INSTRUCTIONS. — CHOSEN "MAGISTRATE." — FIRST POPULAR ELECTION AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688–89.

MAJOR CHURCH had now been to the east in pursuit of the Indians as far as the Kennebec, but could find none, and had returned unsuccessful. Large expectations, growing out of his previous exploits, had been entertained, and the public disappointment was correspondingly enhanced. But the Indians were seemingly tired of the war, and were beginning to sue for peace. They made no show of hostilities this summer, and withdrew as the whites advanced. The transports and such armed vessels as had been engaged in the expedition had returned to Portsmouth without trophies, excepting a few miserable captives gathered by the way.

The following letter communicates the news and explains the situation:

To the Governor and Council.

Portsmouth, September 27th, 1690.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—All due respects premised, may you please to understand that on Thursday night last our fleet and army arrived in this river, and yesterday went up

to the bank, where the soldiers went ashore. They had, I suppose, four poor captives, of whom I saw only two—objects of great compassion. Being arrived, we held a council about what was next to be done, particularly whether to make another trip eastward in pursuance of what was begun. It was generally concluded to be very advisable, and our commanders were very willing; but upon examination of our ability to perform it, we found ourselves by Divine Providence hedged in by impossibility: 1st. Because our Indian pioneers will not go again till they have been at home; the small-pox had carried away some, and divers more of them have been with the sick so as to become infected, and thus not capable of being kept in their places. 2d. They being drawn off, no sufficient number will be left to attempt further operations. There being no prospect of any such thing, we have consequently to dismiss the fleet; which done, we have considered what shall be done with the army (for the resolve of which we wait your honors' pleasure), as also what settlement to be made for the future security of the frontier towns. It is the sense of all men present in council that to let any of those towns be lost will be intolerably prejudicial to the whole country, and dishonorably reflecting [upon us] all the world over. 3d. That, to keep them from being lost, we must of necessity afford them some further assistance from the country, till we see what the Lord will do for us and them. It is now discoursed of ranging our own frontiers, to see what lurking enemies may be met withal upon the confines thereof, and as we then find, shall inform your honors with humble presentage. Our general apprehension is that some strength of men should be left for the safety of the places, under careful conductors, and not so many commission officers to be constantly there, because of saving charges. Particularly as to Wells, we hear that their captain is minded to leave, which will be very grateful to the people, provided they may have Lieutenant Andrews in his room, under whose conduct they say they were very happy and quiet. They desire nothing more than that the captain may go off with honor, which may be best accomplished by their silence. As to a further account of our late expedition, I refer your honors to the relation of the conductors there-

of, who will suddenly wait upon you; not having at present to add but that I am your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

I received Mr. Addington's by Major Vaughan.

I suppose the Indians taken, which are in number eight, will come down to your honors with Captain Alden. It is said that Plymouth men are in expectation of some part in the captives by promise. What is of that nature your honors will understand by Major Church, who speaks fairly, viz., that they shall be left for redemption of captives. That should be done with them, whatever else be done, if they are not so disposed of. They are: Hawkins's squaw, two of his children, and two of her children. Hawkins is said to be sagamore of Pigwacket. Two of the children of Worambo, sagamore of ——. A child of one Saco.

May it please your honors, you will understand that we received your honors' letter on Lord's Day morning, signifying your pleasure that an essay should be made to the head-quarters before the army was [disbanded]. In pursuance thereof we met on Monday following. I declared your pleasure, with which all were so ready to comply, that it came presently to a strenuous endeavor to accomplish it. Major Church conceiving that he, by persuasion or compulsion, might make his Indians stay, the people offered their personal services, and to pull their clothes from their backs to supply some of the soldiers that did want, rather than the design should fail. When all came to their appearing, two hundred in number, the commanders were willing to go with those that could be had. So we went to furnish the vessels for the design, but found there was not provision for the same, and so were forced to give off all at once. We dismissed the vessels and the army to their quarters till your honors' pleasure be further known concerning it, and shall in the meantime range the frontiers. I am forced to break off, that the sloop may be gone who stays for this letter. Major Church and Captain Converse are now coming to wait upon your honors, to whose relation I humbly refer your honors till I next wait upon [you], which will be forthwith, God assisting, who am your honors' most humble servant,

R. P.

As we have seen, Major Church was feeling the weight of popular discontent over his unsuccessful expedition to the east, in the summer and autumn of 1690. We quote from his journal:

Now, having a fair wind, Major Church soon got to Piscataqua. [He] was to apply himself to Major Pike, a worthy gentleman, who said he had advice of his coming from Boston gentlemen; also, he had received directions that what men the said Church should want must be raised out of Hampshire, out of the several towns and garrisons. Major Pike asked him how many men he should want. He said, enough to make up his forces; that he brought with him three hundred at least, and not more than three hundred and fifty. And so, in about nine days' time, he was supplied with two companies of soldiers. He having been at about twenty shillings a day charge in expenses while there. Now he received Major Pike's instructions, which are as followeth:

"*To* MAJOR BENJAMIN CHURCH, *Commander-in-chief of their Majesties' forces now designed upon the present expedition eastward, and now resident at Portsmouth.*

"Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, September 9th, 1690.

"The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence in your loyalty and valor, from experience of your former actions, and of God's presence with you in the same, in pursuance of an order received from them commanding it, these are, in their Majesties' names, to empower and require you, as commander-in-chief, to take into your care and conduct these forces now here present at their rendezvous at Portsmouth, and they are alike required to obey you, and with them to sail eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or place adjacent, that may be most commodious for landing with safety and secrecy; and to visit the French and Indians at their head-quarters at Amerascogen, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the enemy; using always your utmost endeavor for the preservation of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly rooting out of the enemy,

wheresoever they may be found; and, also, as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places.

"You being there arrived, and understanding your way, to take your journey back again, either by land or water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended, and to give intelligence always of your motions, whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

"Lastly, in all to consult your council, the commanders or commissioned officers of your several companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine. And so the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be your conduct.

"Given under my hand, the day and year above said,

"Per ROBERT PIKE."

To MAJOR PIKE.

Bristol, November 27th, 1690.

HONORED SIR,—These come to wait upon you to bring the tenders of my hearty service to yourself and lady, with due acknowledgment of thankfulness for all the kindness and favor I received from you in the eastward parts, when with you. Since I came from those parts I am informed by Captain Andros that yourself and most all the forces are drawn off from the eastward parts. I admire at it, considering that they had so low esteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the eastward parts so safe before the enemy were brought into better subjection. I was in hopes, when I came from thence, that those who were so desirous to have my room would have been very brisk in my absence, to have got themselves some honor, which they very much gaped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me, which, had I known before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor was pleased to give me some small account, before I left the bank, of some things that were ill represented to you, concerning the eastward expedition, which, being rolled home like a snowball through both colonies, was got to such a bigness that it overshadowed one from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance among my friends

in my journey homeward. But through God's goodness am come home, finding all well and myself in good health; hoping that those reports will do me the favor to quit me from all other public actions, that so I may the more peaceably and quietly wait upon God, and be a comfort to my own family in this dark time of trouble—being as one hid till his indignation is overpast. I shall take it as a great favor to hear of your welfare. Subscribing myself as I am, sir,

Your most assured friend and servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

P. S.—Major Church did receive after this answers to his letters, but hath lost them, except it be a letter from several of the gentlemen in those parts in June following.

In the absence of Pike's reply to Church, which Church says he had lost, we print the following letter of Major Pike to Governor Hinckley of Plymouth Colony, in which he expresses himself fully in regard to the expedition in question, and giving his testimony to the character and services of Major Church:

ROBERT PIKE *to Governor* THOMAS HINCKLEY.

Salisbury, March 23d, 1690-91.

May it please your Honor:

SIR,—After the tender of my humble respects, these lines (having so fair an opportunity to send them) are with respect to Major Church, and the other gentlemen that from your parts accompanied him in their Majesties' service in our parts the last summer:

1st. To give yourself and them, and your colony for sending them, and then for coming, my hearty thanks, praying the Lord to requite it to you, and to supply all your needs at all times, and to your and our safety.

2d. To declare unto you that I am heartily sorry to hear of the ill requital that he have met with, if all be true as I have heard, namely, that he is unworthily reproached as unfaithful or cowardly, or worse. What the reason of it, or whether it be true that he is so rendered, I am not certain; but

this I judge it my duty to say, that in the little happy acquaintance that I had with him in that design (myself having the chief conduct thereof), I found him to be very forward, faithful and diligent; vigorous and expeditious in despatch at their first going forth, and in our private council, casting one thing and another, resolved to keep faithful and close to duty, whatever proved the issue, and after his return was industrious (as I thought) beyond measure to have promoted a second motion, which might have been of good advantage, with God's blessing, could it have been accomplished; which had certainly been done had we had provision, though his Indians went away. And as for the time they were out, their improvement was great, and the success answerable, God favoring them with winds, so as that they accomplished the breaking of the brunt of the enemy and made them sue for peace; and could they have gone the second time, it might have been what God saw good to make it; and I wish that envy of men do not rob God of the praise due to him. All that I could take notice of was the sparing of the Indian that was taken and ran away, for which the major was blamed; to which I shall only say, it was what it was. His commission from yourselves did bear it, and he had experienced good by it, and doubtless hoped for the like now; and his running away was not intended by him; and to expect absolute perfection in any is to account him more than a man; and not to allow him the accidents of imperfection, is to deny him that which makes him less than a man.

Sir, I humbly crave your pardon of this my boldness and rude application, who am constrained to break off abruptly for haste, and to excuse all that is amiss, upon the good affection of him that is, honored sir,

Your honor's most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

The pretended desire of the Indians for peace had now become so strong in its expression that the government was induced to appoint a commission to treat with them, and further hostile enterprises were abandoned. Major

Pike was appointed head of the commission, and the following are his instructions, from the records:

Instructions for Major ROBERT PIKE, *Major* ELISHA HUTCHINSON, *etc.*

Boston, November 9th, 1690.

Let not your place of treaty be without the bounds of Wells, and be very careful to prevent any surprise by treachery.

You are in the first place to satisfy yourselves concerning the persons that present themselves to treat with you, and in what capacity they come; and in case you find them sagamores, or appointed by them, you are to demand of them what proposals they have to make, and acquaint them that the war was begun near nine months before the government came into our hands, and, for aught we know, themselves or accomplices were first aggressors therein; and endeavor to make them sensible of the resentment we have of their perfidiousness and bloody cruelty exercised toward the English.

Let them understand that, as we were not the beginners of the war, so we are not averse to peace in a just and righteous way.

Let them understand it is but just that they render satisfaction for the innocent blood which they have shed, and depredations made upon the country.

That you insist upon the return of all the English captives in their power, and their quitting of the English possessions and interest.

That in case there be any conclusion of peace, endeavor to gain hostages for security on their part. And if any injury be hereafter offered unto them by the English, that they first make complaint thereof to the government before they seek any revenge.

In the management of this affair of so great concernment, much must be left to your good sound discretion, upon the place; but let nothing be done so as to give the enemy advantage to ensnare, by being over-credulous of them.

Ordered, That Major Robert Pike be allowed for his service

to the country, against the common enemy at the eastward, eight pounds per month.

December 19th, 1690.

Passed in the affirmative by the Deputies.

Per order, CHRISTOPHER OSGOOD.

Consented to by the Governor and Assistants.

JAMES ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

In this year (1690) took place the first election of Magistrates since the Revolution. The official return of the election is appended. The vote given shows the relative strength of the candidates. Several prominent men were defeated. Bradstreet was an old man and governor, and generally popular. Danforth was the recognized leader of the popular party, but he is not so well supported as some of his coadjutors. Stoughton and Saltonstall were leading loyalists. Sir William Phips, who became governor two years later, did not secure the full support of the popular party. But he had previously succeeded in raising his Spanish galleon, and this gave him his knighthood and governorship. Thus did he mount over the heads of better men.

The twenty-six persons hereunder named stand in nomination for Magistrates within the Massachusetts Colony for this present year, as appears by the votes of the freemen of the said colony—being opened, perused, sorted, and numbered by commissioners from the several counties, thereto chosen and appointed, met in Boston, May 6th, 1690:

Vid.: Simon Bradstreet, Esq.	966
Thomas Danforth, Esq.	813
William Stoughton, Esq.	369
Nath. Saltonstall, Esq.	490
Samuel Appleton, Esq.	964
John Richards, Esq.	459
Robert Pike, Esq.	883
James Russell, Esq.	888
William Johnson, Esq.	757
John Hathorn, Esq.	722
Elisha Cook, Esq.	941

Samuel Sewall, Esq.	742
Elisha Hutcheson, Esq.	915
Peter Tilton, Esq.	879
Isaac Addington, Esq.	843
John Smith, Esq.	679
Wait Winthrop, Esq.	972
Samuel Shrimpton, Esq.	373
Jonathan Corwin, Esq.	768
John Phillips, Esq.	839
Jeremiah Sweyn, Esq.	602
Sir William Phips, Knt.	693
Mr. Thomas Oaks	605
Mr. John Boles	389
Captain Daniel Pears	304
Mr. William Bond	271

Signed by the commissioners of the several counties.

PENN TOWNSEND, } Suffolk.
SAMUEL WILLIAMS, }
JOSEPH BELKNAP, Hampshire.
JOHN WAINWRIGHT, } Essex.
JOHN PITTMAN, }
SAMUEL PHIPS, } Middlesex.
EBENEZER PROUT, }

CHAPTER XXI.

TRUCE WITH THE SAVAGES.—ITS INSTANT VIOLATION.—FURTHER CALLS FOR ASSISTANCE.—LETTERS OF ROBERT PIKE ON THE SITUATION.—APPREHENSIONS OF FAMINE.—PETITIONS TO THE COURT RESPECTING HIS SON.

THE year 1690 had closed by a truce with the Indians, under the authority already recited in the last chapter. It was stipulated in the truce that some captives, who were named, were to be brought in, and certain sagamores to appear and ratify the bargain. When spring came the captives had not been returned, and at a meeting of the commissioners in May the sagamores promised did not attend. At this meeting, however, a number of chiefs appeared by their representatives, and several Indians in a private capacity. A new bargain was here made, but it turned out to be a worthless compact, and was violated almost as soon as made. The year 1691 proved to be, like its predecessor, a season of agitation, depredation, captures, and murders by the Indians. The following document shows what was done at the spring meeting with the savages, and relates, also, to their violation of the truce of the previous autumn:

Province of Maine, at Wells, May 1st, 1691.

Thomas Danforth, Esq., Major Robert Pike, Esq., Major William Vaughan, Esq., Major Charles Frost, Esq., commissioners empowered by the General Court of Massachusetts, being met at the house of Lieutenant Joseph Storer, according to articles

of agreement made with Edgaremett, Toqualmott, Wesombanet, Natombomett, Walumbee, and John Hawkins [Indian sagamores and chief men], at Sagatahock, November 29th, 1690, and by them then signed and sealed, there appeared Kenawoonett on behalf of Edgaremett, and Wesombanet and Tantoegan on behalf of Warumbe, as also eleven more Indians in a private capacity, and being demanded why the other Indians named in the abovesaid article did not make their appearance, they answered that they were not come home from hunting; also being demanded the captives, according to covenant, they denied their promise, but afterward brought forth two captive children, and confessed that there were seven more captives at Kennebeck, and named some of them, and sundry more were toward Penobscot and the eastward; and being again urged with their failure to perform their covenant (which on the English part had punctually been observed), they answered it was not now in their power to help it, but that they do engage within twenty days to make good their covenant in returning the captives, to be brought to Wells, and there delivered at the house of Lieutenant Joseph Storer—and such as are nearer than the rest, within ten days at furthest—and to bring to Captain Converse the desire of the sagamores as to a further lengthening out of the time for a cessation of the war, in order to be communicated to their Majesties' Governors of Boston and New York. In the mean time, until there be the answers of the said governors returned to them, the truce shall be continued in like manner as was agreed by the above recited articles, the performing whereof without fraud or delay they do solemnly oblige themselves, and have no doubt but that the sagamores absent will, with like good hearts, perform: as witness their hands and seals this first day of May, Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, Annoq. RR^{s} and R^{nae} Guilielmi et Mariæ tertio.

Signed and sealed in presence of us,

JONATHAN REMINGTON,		WESOMBONET,	[L.S.]
WILLIAM PARTRIDGE,		NONUNKTE,	[L.S.]
TENTOMEGON,	[L.S.]	SAMSON HEGEN,	[L.S.]
KENOWONIT,	[L.S.]	ROB. DONY,	[L.S.]
OLD DONY,	[L.S.]	SABADIS,	[L.S.]

It soon became evident that the new agreement was but a treacherous device. The savages, without warning, resumed the war against the settlements. The two papers which follow are the opening notes of fresh distresses:

Captain Gerrish: June 15th, 1691.

SIR,—Yesterday, going out after the rain, three of our men, going over the brook down below the house, did discover the track of the Indians. Men went out to see farther, and they saw the tracks of ten or twelve, and one track within half-shot of the garrison. We do judge it was yesterday morning. Therefore, sir, our condition is very bad, and we do desire, if possible may be, to have some relief; if not, that some speedy care may be taken for to draw us off, for we do suppose ourselves to be in imminent danger. Yours,

THOMAS DOWNS.

Major Vaughan: Cochecha, June 15th, 1691.

SIR,—Yours I received, and have attended your orders, and all are in garrison, except Timothy Hanson and family, and they will not remove. I have sent unto the upper garrison, and the enclosed was sent to me. I desire your perusal, and endeavor to make our case known, and if we cannot have sudden help, we desire help for to draw off, for we are all penned up in our garrisons, and all our corn will be spoiled; for we cannot so much as venture out for to look to our fences or anything else, and the people are much afraid, more than ever. I therefore desire you to do what you can for us, and desire God to direct you and us in this weighty concern.

I shall rest yours to command,

JOHN GERRISH.

Robert Pike writes:

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, June 14th, 1691. 4 of clock, afternoon.

MUCH HONORED,—About an hour ago I received the enclosed from Major Vaughan. I had the same a little before from Captain Swinburn, concerning the Exeter disaster, with this further addition, that because the enemy is in every hole,

they, being so few, could not send to give notice till it was night.

That the case is already very bad, and like to be worse, is apparent. What the reason of their taking this method of proceeding with us I cannot imagine.

That the truce is broken with great insolency by them I doubt not. That we and they also are very sensible of. Whether to let them alone will be safe or honorable for us is seriously and speedily to be considered. I humbly offer the sense of some advised persons in the case, viz.: That an army be forthwith sent out against them, that may follow them to their quarters, wheresoever they go, and make what spoil they can; which army shall be competently able to acquit themselves, though they meet with more enemies than they may justly expect, and be conducted by such faithful and prudent commanders as have power to use such methods as reason, experience, or information may dictate to them, by order of the authorities; and that a party of horse should attend them, to carry supplies by land and bring intelligence, and also some by sea, to go to meet them with relief about Casco, or where it may be in your wisdom thought most convenient; and so not to give it over while an Indian can be heard of in the country, which, by the blessing of God, may give prospect of an issue within a few months, if not weeks. And that some course be taken to strengthen our frontier towns, that they may be enabled to attend to getting victuals, or all will be starved.

The only wise God direct your counsels in all these weighty concerns to a good conclusion; so prays your humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

7 *of clock.*—Just as I was sealing up came in the post from Wells, which gives us cause to say that the Lord is gracious, and that his mercy endureth forever. I humbly beg the speedy return of your pleasure in general.

Haverhill, June 15th, '91. At 12 in the night.

Hon. Major Pike:

SIR,—This day, about sunset, came information by two men that there is ground to fear that John Robie is killed by the

enemy about two hours before sunset, by hearing of a gun, and the shrieks of his son he had with him in that part of the woods about Bradley's, where they formerly did mischief. In all the inquiry we can make, no certainty can be had to give account of. I have been looking out for a full inquiry. I fear the report is too true. Before day we hope to have men out to know what is the truth.

There will be good reason for your taking care for your security, by good, strong watches and scouts. We were upon it before this report came. I look for nothing but trouble; and though this will not be pleasant, give me leave to say that I account it my duty to acquaint you with it, were there no other reason but your careful information, given us twice yesterday, and once before the 11th instant, for which I give you most hearty thanks. The Lord guide and preserve you, and encourage us all in a way of duty in the use of suitable means, without which we can't expect his blessing.

Sir, I am your friend and servant,

N. SALTONSTALL.

[Superscribed: "To Major Robert Pike, to be exposed to the view of Captain Tho. Harvey, and by him sent forward to Major Pike in haste. Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers, be faithful."]

Major Pike: Portsmouth, June 16th, 1691.

MUCH HONORED,—Have nothing new at present. Somewhat is enclosed. Can learn no intelligence as yet about the Indians; when we do you shall hear it, or what else occurs. Much wonder there is nothing yet from Governor and Council, or no assistance from any place. Till when, all the outplaces are shut up, not daring to venture out to look after their fences, so that in a little time all their corn will be destroyed.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM VAUGHAN.

[Superscribed: "For Major Pike, humbly present, in Salisbury."]

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, June 17th, 1691. 12 or 1 o'clock.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—That the post may not be hindered, I give your honors the trouble of the sight of what

daily occurs, only adding that Roby of Haverhill is found, brought home, and is yet living, though barbarously handled; but his son not heard of. Yesterday, about seven in the afternoon, your honors' to Major Vaughan came to my hand, which I presently sent away, but know not the contents nor the least hint in the world of what your honors intend or advise, for which our people are much troubled, and things look very black many ways. I never saw people in such a condition as now.

Dr. Dole now tells me that John Roby is dead. I am now moving (as before) that some of us may go and help our distressed neighbors, till we can hear what your honors will do; but I fear I shall give a lame account about it, all things speaking such discouragement. Yesterday two men were taken away at Exeter. I dread what a day may bring forth, if not presently prevented. I hope your honors have given Major Vaughan some encouragement, of which we, one way or other, may have some notice.

I have had some thoughts about that pretence of the enemy at Wells, of having nothing for the two captives brought in there, which is fallacious, for though they did at first speak of paying for them to some other Indians, yet after they were brought in the deponent and Mr. Moody went aside with them, and left us to further discourse with the Indians; and among other things we told them we were honest with them, and expected the like of them to us, and demanded of them what they paid for the said captives; and they said "No pay," of which we doubt not. But Mr. B—— and the other gentlemen present there can tell your honors. That the only wise God may direct you in these weighty affairs is the prayer of

Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PAINFUL RECORD CONTINUED.—DANGERS OF STARVATION.—THE SETTLEMENTS SURROUNDED AND HARASSED BY THE SAVAGES.—PUBLIC APPEAL FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL FOR SUCCOR FOR THE SUFFERERS.—MORE OF MAJOR PIKE'S LETTERS.—HIS FORBEARANCE AND HUMANITY.—"HAD RATHER BE WRONGED BY THE INDIANS THAN BREAK OUR FAITH WITH THEM."

THERE was no cessation of the raids of the Indians throughout the summer. The government at length became alarmed, as will be seen by an "order in Council," published in its place. The strain upon the population in defending themselves from the bloody incursions and savage cruelties of the enemy had become unendurable. It had exhausted both public and private resources, and the government was compelled to appeal to the citizens everywhere for special assistance, both in men and money. Robert Pike's assiduity was unintermitting, and we find the testimony to his faithfulness in the letter of Major Saltonstall, in the foregoing chapter. The lives of the people depended on their crops, and these could only be cultivated at the very season when the Indians were the most active and threatening. The inhabitants were thus always living in the apprehension of starvation on the one hand and of torture and massacre on the other.

The tension of both body and mind, for numerous successive years, with blow after blow of savage foes falling upon them, can be more easily imagined than described.

The following letters of information are addressed to Major Pike, and are specimens of the correspondence of this period:

Kittery, June 19th, 1691.

HONORED SIR,—This morning I received information from York and Wells, as also Newichawannock. Each place gives an account that the enemy constantly remain about each of their towns, destroying both fat and lean cattle; and it is taken for granted, without some speedy help comes, that they will not leave a beast alive in the whole province. They have killed no one since Tuesday that I hear of. At that time one man was killed or carried away from York, and one house burned. I have also information that the Indians have taken possession of the upper garrison at Newichawannock, commonly called Holmes's garrison, and there they keep; and we have our garrisons so thinly manned that we are not able to sally out after them. Therefore we do humbly request your honor to signify this unto Major Appleton and Major Saltonstall, who have a particular order from the Governor and Council, that if we are assaulted and in distress before the army appointed do come unto us, that then they are, without further order from the Governor and Council, presently to afford help to us. There never was more need than now, for the enemy is on every quarter of us, and several garrisons are broke up already, and others breaking up. In a little while, without present help, we shall be all gone. Not else, but concluding your honor will do what possible in this matter, I take leave, being in great haste.

I remain, sir, your obliged servant,

FRANCIS HOOKE.

Pray, sir, be pleased also to send a copy of this to the Governor and Council forthwith, that help may be hastened. It would do very well if our eastern men that are lately gone from us were all impressed and sent back again. Good sir, excuse my boldness because of haste.

[Superscribed: "To Major Robert Pike, at Salisbury; haste, post-haste."]

To Major Pike: Portsmouth, June 19th, 1691.

MUCH HONORED,—My last gave account of the quitting of several of the frontier garrisons. Many others, viz., Cochecha,

Oyster River, etc., are ready to move unless present help appear, for all places are so weak they are capable of nothing but standing upon their guard within their garrisons to preserve their lives; and we have now advice that the enemy are daily appearing, both at Wells, York, and Newichawannock, and destroying their cattle of all sorts. We are advised by Mr. Waldron, who came home last night, that your honor is determined to do what is possible to be done for the defence of the country, considering its present circumstances, and pray that it may be done with such despatch that no more of the frontier garrisons may be quitted, but enabled to stand their ground. We were hopeful, according to your honor's direction, of some present relief from Major Appleton and Major Saltonstall till further order was taken, but none yet comes.

I am, much honored, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM VAUGHAN.

The following notes are without signature:

York, June 22d, 1691.

BROTHER SNELL,—This last night the sad news of nine of our principal men, sorely wounded by the Indians, and one man killed at Cape Neddick, calls for prayer and pity, and speedy relief, by men forthwith sent unto us. There were about forty Indians. We are in hourly jeopardy, lives and estates. Pray communicate to Major Vaughan, to whom present my service. Cape Neddick garrison is burned.

June 23d, 1691.

The above came just to hand from York, from Mr. Dummer. The messenger that brought it declares the matter thus. That yesterday thirteen men went thence to Cape Neddick to load a sloop with staves. The sloop got off, but most of the men ashore in the canoe were surrounded by the enemy and fired upon, but all got into their canoe, where one was shot dead, another wounded and since dead, and three more wounded and like to die. But they all got on board the sloop, and left neither dead nor living in the enemy's hand, but forthwith weighed anchor and came to sail with much difficulty, receiving many shots in their sails, etc. They arrived this morning

at York, and say further that Cape Neddick garrison was burned yesterday, the people having deserted it about a week ago.

To MAJOR PIKE.

June 19th, 1691.

HONORED SIR,—I received yours bearing date June the 18th, 1691, by which we have an account of the distressed condition of our friends at the eastward. It is sad and lamentable to hear of it, but far worse to endure it. Your worship was pleased to send to us for a party of horse, which we did not mention to the people, because we find them very much discouraged by reason that they can have no encouragement from the Council for any service they have done upon such occasions. The time we have expended upon such actions has been very great, to the damage both in estate and otherwise. The committee of militia of our town did petition the Council for relief in this matter, but could have none for their time nor yet for their ammunition. Our soldiers do think themselves much wronged, and can hardly be quieted. I should be glad there could be a way found for their satisfaction, otherwise the edge of our sudden expeditions will be much dulled.

Sir, I have given the reason we did no more in that matter yourself wrote for; pray pardon my boldness in it.

Sir, I am your servant at all times,

THOMAS NOYES.

To the Governor and Council.

June 20th. 3 o'clock in the morning.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—This came just now to my hand, and is the account of an endeavor of mine. It is from the captain, and is all the account that I have yet received from Newbury, but is indeed the lamentable complaint of these times. Yet I have some hint that Captain Greenleaf, by order from your honors, is providing to come over with his troop, and have so signified to Major Vaughan and the people eastward, with all the encouraging hopes imaginable; and yet thought it my duty to send this to your honors for your consideration. Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, June 19th, 1691. 12 at night.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—Yours of the 18th instant, dated and subscribed by Mr. Sewall, per order, was this day received about five o'clock, as also yours to Major Vaughan, to which I gave present despatch. I give your honors most humble thanks for your letter and the contents thereof, which gave a little life to an almost despairing people. Several Portsmouth gentlemen yesterday told me that your former letter to Mr. Vaughan he so improved, as that there is hope that several garrisons that were ready to go would stand yet a little longer in hope of relief. Your honors will understand by Major Vaughan's and Captain Hook's, which for haste I sent your honors, not having time to write a copy, as by them desired.

I lament the breaking up of Cape Neddick garrison. I have spoken with Lieutenant Hunnewell and the rest of the men, who say they will return again if relief come into those parts.

I this night had an account of Lieutenant Hunnewell concerning the whole attack of Wells on Saturday last, an account of which I shall endeavor to give your honors as soon as I can have a time orderly to take it from him. Only at present, concerning the number of the enemy, his apprehension was that one hundred and fifty was the least that could rationally be thought; for, by report, they had not less than fifty or sixty against Storer's garrison, fifteen or sixteen in the meadows against the vessels, and they in the other garrisons think there were not less than seventy or eighty more; and, then, there were some that lay off from Storer's garrison that never engaged in fight, and he believed that they were squaws. They also told him that Moxos or Dokawondo was there, but he had forgot which; but, whichever it was, he refused to treat with any of them because they were not sagamores. But I shall not further trouble your honors, but only to consent with you in this, that I had rather be wronged by them than to break our faith with them. Hoping the righteous God will take the case into his own hand, to whom all, I take leave to subscribe, Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, June 23d, 1691.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—Since my last to your honors nothing of moment has occurred, but only the sad account of a man that was lost last night, half an hour after sunset. One John Ring of Salisbury, going out of Jacob Morall's garrison to fetch in a cow (as he had done several nights before), was carried away by the enemy, who waylaid him and took him not much above twenty rods from the garrison, as did appear by his hat and his shoes that were there found this morning. A great part of our town are now out in the woods after them, and many of Hampton, but have little hope of recovering him.

The truth is, we are a distressed people, because a frontier town, with but few men in it, and several of them sick; yet two of our men are pressed for Wells, and we have order from the major to impress three more, which, if they be carried away, will still more weaken us; which we humbly pray your honors to prevent, and, if it may be, to send us some help, for the enemy is in all places of our town, whom we cannot without great toil discover, it is so full of hideous swamps. The man that is now taken we greatly lament, because he was a stout man, and had been often in service against the enemy, and done them much damage, and they know him, and we fear will extremely torture him.

On Saturday last Captain Greenleaf went to Haverhill with about thirty-four horses, the next day to Hampton, and yesterday morning for Exeter; nothing of them since, nor from any other place.

Our people are much afflicted, impoverished, and discouraged. The only wise and sovereign Lord undertake the protection of us and the direction of your honors, which is the prayer of Your honors' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

May it please your honors, it is the humble request of our militia that our town may have the privilege of a frontier town, as last year, when ten men were sent to us, for we fear the enemy will oppress us, as they did the last year; and we now hear

that Hampton men are not gone out to-day, as we heard they had. The Newbury men are not so able to assist us as they were last year.

The incessant assaults of the savages upon the eastern towns had now become so formidable that the government felt itself compelled to fresh efforts to put a stop to them. But poverty and exhaustion prevailed everywhere. It was at this juncture that it issued the following appeal:

Boston, June 25th, 1691.

GENTLEMEN,—The distresses befalling us, by God's letting loose the heathen afresh to commit horrid outrages and barbarities, awfully threatening the desolating of the out towns and plantations, besides the annoyance given by sea, and fears of what attacks we may probably meet with in that respect, and the hazard of exposing their Majesties' interests, without some meet preparations be made for our defence and safety against the incursions of the anti-Christian and heathen enemies; and the late great changes and disappointments that have happened, having exhausted the public treasury, so that it is impracticable for us to manage and carry on the public affairs in what is necessary unless some present supply be made, and God stir up a public spirit in those that are able, wherein the gentlemen of Boston and Salem have approved themselves very worthily to provide for our defence by sea. We have therefore thought fit to request yourselves, with some other gentlemen in the several counties, forthwith to make a visit to the towns in the respective counties, to discourse the selectmen and some of the principal gentlemen, and give them a sense of the present straits of the country, and to recommend it unto them to see what moneys can be presently gathered up, to the value of one thousand pounds (if it may be), more or less, in part of the rates that are ordered for the supplying of ammunition, provisions, and clothing for the soldiers that are or shall be sent forth in their Majesties' service against the said common enemy; each one that shall advance anything on this account to have it set-off in their assessment, for which direction shall be given. Please to inform, with

all possible expedition, what encouragement you meet with in this matter.

By order of the Governor and Council.

JAMES ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

Neither the lapse of time nor the exertions of the government seem to have modified the distressed circumstances of the inhabitants. As late as the following September the same lurid atmosphere of captivity and torture and death still overhangs the settlements. The perplexities and anxieties of the situation at last prostrated the old veteran of seventy-five years, and made him, as he says, "extreme sick." But he quickly rallied. There is fifteen years of life in him yet, and he appeared at his highest point of vigor in the following year, when the witchcraft delusion called forth the mental effort which crowned his life with imperishable distinction.

Letter from HENRY DOW.

Hampton, September 29th or 30th, 1691.

Major Pike:

SIR,—We have received intelligence from Sandybeach that since 12 o'clock this day the enemy have killed or carried away sixteen persons, of which old goodman Bracket's and goodman Ran's families have the greatest blow. The messengers that brought the news, on their returning home about the time the moon did rise this night, at a place called Raggy Neck, about half a mile this side Sandybeach garrison, they do affirm to me they saw, as they adjudged, about forty enemies coming toward Hampton with five or six canoes on their heads, which caused them to come back to Hampton again, and brought us word of it, which we have thought it convenient to signify to your worship, lest they should come along with their canoes in the night and do damage to houses near the sea. We are in a sad condition, the enemy is so violent. The Lord give us all wisdom to teach us what we ought to do.

So, with my respect presented to you, I remain your loving friend and servant, HENRY DOW.

GENTLEMEN,—I am extreme sick, and it is now about eleven at night that this came to my hand, with the confirmation of six killed at Newichawannock the day before.

I am your humble servant, ROBERT PIKE.

On the back of this letter, in Major Pike's handwriting:

Date, 29; 7, 1691.

If Captain March be not at home, carry it to the court yourself, or send by a safe hand. ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

September 29th, 1691.

Late in the night, near to break of day, this came to hand when I was asleep at my lodging at Ipswich, being there on court service, and therefore send it forward to the governor.

Yours, N. SALTONSTALL.

The Indian wars of this period were not the only sources of suffering to which the early colonists were subjected. The following complaint of citizens of New England was made of the Andros government, happily brought to an end by the revolution of 1689:

Of all our oppressors we were chiefly squeezed by a crew of abject persons fetched from New York to be the tools of our adversaries. By these were extraordinary and intolerable fees exacted from every one upon all occasions, without any rules but their own insatiate avarice and beggary.

A little later they had a taste of the mischief of the first issue of paper money. Governor Hutchinson says:

The first paper money issued in New England was to defray the expenses of the abortive expedition against Canada, in the summer and fall of 1690. These notes fell at first, but afterward came up on being received for taxes at five per cent. premium. The experiment was repeated in 1711, on the second expedition to Canada. This issue had fifty thousand pounds added to it in 1714, and one hundred thousand pounds more in 1716. In 1702 six shillings and eightpence in currency was equal to an ounce of silver. In 1749 it took fifty shillings in

paper money to buy an ounce of the same metal. In this year bills of credit were abolished.

Hutchinson goes on to relate the following curious facts:

Barbadoes followed the first example, and the notes fell so low that the affairs of the island fell into confusion, and the paper money had to be abolished.

A land bank was established in England in the reign of King William [about this period] and entirely failed.

Hutchinson suggests that the idea of this bank came from New England, and adds a remark that has not been verified by experience, namely, that "unless these experiences shall be forgotten, the government will never, it is to be presumed, issue any more paper money."

CHAPTER XXIII.

ROBERT PIKE'S CONNECTION WITH THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT PROCEEDINGS.—HIS GREAT ARGUMENT AGAINST THE PROSECUTION.

Robert Pike's connection with the Salem witchcraft proceedings in 1692, when he was seventy-six years old, was the most signal event of his life. Circumstances conspired to interest him in it personally to the highest degree. In the wide sweep which the prosecutions took, high and low were alike implicated, till at length no one felt secure from attacks which were almost sure to be succeeded by swift and sudden destruction. No one dared breast the storm, for such resistance was deemed evidence of complicity with the imps and witches, who, with all the powers of hell at their back, were aiming at the overthrow of God's kingdom on earth. This offence was so great, that the prosecutors did not hesitate to seize upon the highest and best people, some of whom, under the diabolical influences of the time, were peremptorily taken to jail, and thence hurried to execution.

Among the persons so charged with witchcraft was Mary Bradbury, a woman of seventy-five years, the wife of one of the most prominent and honorable citizens of the town of Salisbury. She was a woman of exceptionally high standing in Christian life and character. She and her husband had been residents of Salisbury for over fifty years, and were the life-long friends of Robert Pike. Their son, Wymond Bradbury, had married Sarah Pike, eldest

daughter of Robert, thirty years before. The families were thus associated by ties of the most intimate character. On the arrest of Mary Brádbury, we may presume that Robert Pike entered into the case with all the zeal and energy of his nature. If anything was wanting, beyond the native impulses of his character, to induce him to embark in opposition to the fanatical storm then raging, we have it in this family connection.

The circumstances under which Robert Pike's argument was brought to light have been fully explained by Mr. Upham, in his "History of the Salem Witchcraft," an extract from which will be found in the next chapter.

In the celebrated case of Susanna Martin, the remembrance of which is perpetuated by the genius of Whittier, Robert Pike was the magistrate before whom a portion of the testimony was taken. In the performance of his duty to record the narrations of the several witnesses, there was but little opportunity for him to manifest his private sentiments on the subject of witchcraft, and the character of the evidence produced to sustain it; but of such opportunity as there was he availed himself. One striking instance is referred to by Mr. Upham; but the careful reader will not fail to perceive others, as he peruses the testimony of the witnesses, which will be found in the Appendix. They were allowed full scope for all they had to say, without let or hinderance, and in the hands of believers, like Cotton Mather, were never required to qualify their statements. But in these depositions will be found some damaging admissions, which it is plain were drawn out by questions of the magistrate. He is once called on to confirm the statement of a witness that his wife had gone crazy in consequence of being bewitched. He says he formerly knew the woman to be sane, but that now she was

"miserably demented;" but he takes very good care not to say he thought there was any witchcraft in the case.

The depositions referred to were taken in May, 1692. Mary Bradbury was imprisoned in July of the same year. The argument laid before the judges bears date August 9th, 1692. There were no executions after September 22d in that year, and a general jail delivery took place in May, 1693. All the trials and convictions that resulted in executions took place between the months of June and September, 1692.

Pike's argument did not secure Mary Bradbury's acquittal. She was convicted, along with five others, four of whom were hanged on September 22d, which was the date of the last executions. But Mary Bradbury escaped, by some means of which we are not informed.

Robert Pike was there not only as an advocate but an advisor. Had he been Governor of Massachusetts at this crisis, as from his age, position, and character he might well have been, the old commonwealth would most probably have been spared the blackest page in her history. But he had discovered no sunken Spanish galleon loaded with treasure, and was thus neither knight nor governor, like Sir William Phips, the rude son of fortune who then occupied the executive chair.

The following is the letter and argument of Robert Pike, which we have so often mentioned, addressed to one of the judges:

Letter from "R. P." *to* JONATHAN CORWIN.

Salisbury, August 9th, 1692.

HONORED SIR,—According as in my former to you I hinted that I held myself obliged to give you some further account of my rude though solemn thoughts of that great case now before you, the happy management whereof do so much con-

duce to the glory of God, the safety and tranquillity of the country, besides what I have said in my former and the enclosed, I further humbly present to consideration the doubtfulness and unsafety of admitting spectre testimony against the life of any that are of blameless conversation, and plead innocent, from the uncertainty of them; for, as for diabolical visions, apparitions or representations, they are more commonly false and delusive than real, and cannot be known when they are real and when feigned, but by the devil's report, and then not to be believed, because he is the father of lies.

1. Either the organ of the eye is abused, and the senses deluded, so as to think they do see or hear some thing or person when indeed they do not, and this is frequent with common jugglers.

2. The devil himself appears in the shape and likeness of a person or thing, when it is not the person or thing itself; so he did in the shape of Samuel.

3. And sometimes persons or things themselves do really appear, but how is it possible for any one to give a true testimony who possibly did see neither shape nor person, but were deluded, and if they did see anything, they know not whether it was the person or but his shape. All that can be rationally or truly said in such a case is this: that I did see the shape or likeness of such a person, if my senses or eyesight were not deluded; and they can honestly say no more, because they know no more, except the devil tells them more; and if he do, they can but say he told them so. But the matter is still incredible; first, because it is but their saying the devil told them so; if he did so tell them, yet the verity of the thing remains still unproved, because the devil was a liar and a murderer (John viii. 44), and may tell these lies to murder an innocent person.

But this case seems to be solved by an assertion of some, that affirm that the devil do not or cannot appear in the shape of a godly person to do hurt; others affirm the contrary, and say that he can and often have so done, of which they give many instances for proof of what they say; which, if granted, the case remains yet unsolved, and yet the very hinge upon which that weighty case depends. To which I humbly say:

First. That I do lament that such a point should be so needful to be determined—which seems not probable, if possible, to be determined to infallible satisfaction, for want of clear Scripture to decide it by, though very rational to be believed according to rules; as, for instance, if divers examples are alleged of the shape of persons that have been seen, of whom there is ample testimony that they lived and died in the faith, yet, saith the objector, it is possible they may be hypocrites, therefore the proof is not infallible; and as it may admit of such an objection against the reasons given on the affirmative, much more may the same objection be made against the negative, for which they can or do give no reason at all, nor can a negative be proved (therefore difficult to be determined to satisfy infallibly); but, seeing it must be discussed, I humbly offer these few words: 1st, I humbly conceive that the saints on earth are not more privileged in that case than the saints in heaven; but the devil may appear in the shape of a saint in heaven, namely, in the shape of Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 13, 14); therefore he can or may represent the shape of a saint that is upon the earth. Besides, there may be innocent persons that are not saints, and their innocency ought to be their security, as well as godly men's; and I hear nobody question but the devil may take their shape.

Second. It doth not hurt any man or woman to present the shape or likeness of an innocent person, more than for a limner or carver to draw his picture and show it, if he do not in that form do some evil (nor then either): if the laws of man do not oblige him to suffer for what the devil doth in his shape, the laws of God do not.

Third. The devil had power, by God's permission, to take the very person of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the day or time of his humiliation, and carry him from place to place, and tempted him with temptations of horrid blasphemy, and yet left him innocent. And why not much more appear in his shape (or make folk think it is his shape, when indeed it is not), and yet the person be innocent—being far enough off, and not knowing of it, nor would consent if he had known it, his profession and conversation being otherwise.

Fourth. I suppose it is granted by all that the person of one

that is dead cannot appear, because the soul and body are separated, and so the person is dissolved, and so ceaseth to be: and it is as certain that the person of the living cannot be in two places at one time, but he that is at Boston cannot be at Salem or Cambridge at the same time; but as the malice and envy in the devil makes it his business to seek whom he may devour, so no question but he doth infuse the same quality into those that leave Jesus Christ to embrace him; that they do envy those that are innocent, and upon that account be as ready to say and swear that they did see them as the devil is to present their shape to them. Add but this also, that, when they are once under his power, he puts them on headlong (they must needs go whom the devil drives, saith the proverb), and the reason is clear—because they are taken captive by him, to do his will. And we see, by woful and undeniable experience, both in the afflicted persons and the confessors, some of them, that he torments them at his pleasure, to force them to accuse others. Some are apt to doubt they do but counterfeit; but, poor souls! I am utterly of another mind, and I lament them with all my heart; but, take which you please, the case is the same as to the main issue; for, if they counterfeit, the wickedness is the greater in them, and the less in the devil; but if they be compelled to it by the devil, against their wills, then the sin is the devil's, and the sufferings theirs; but if their testimonies be allowed of, to make persons guilty by, the lives of innocent persons are alike in danger by them, which is the solemn consideration that do disquiet the country.

Now, that the only wise God may so direct you in all that he may have glory, the country peace and safety, and your hands strengthened in that great work, is the desire and constant prayer of your humble servant, R. P., who shall no further trouble you at present.

Position 1*st.* That to put a witch to death is the command of God, and therefore the indispensable duty of man, namely, the magistrate (Exod. xxii. 18); which granted, resolves two questions that I have heard made by some: 1st, Whether there are any such creatures as witches in the world; 2d, If there be, whether they can be known to be such by men: both which

must be determined on the affirmative, or else that commandment were in vain.

Position 2d. That it must be witches that are put to death, and not innocent persons: "Thou shalt not condemn the innocent nor the righteous" (Exod. xxiii. 7).

Query 1st. Which premised, it brings to this query, namely, how a witch may be known to be a witch.

Answer. 1st, By the mouth of two or three witnesses (Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; Deut. xvii. 6); 2d, They may be known by their own confession, being *compos mentis*, and not under horrid temptation to self-murder.

Query 2d. What is it these two or three witnesses must swear? Must they swear that such a person is a witch? Will that do the thing, as is vulgarly supposed?

Answer. I think that is too unsafe to go by, as well as hard to be done by the advised: 1st, Because it would expose the lives of all alike to the pleasure or passion of those that are minded to take them away; 2d, Because that, in such a testimony, the witnesses are not only informers in matter of fact, but sole judges of the crime—which is the proper work of the judges, and not of witnesses.

Query 3d. What is it that the witnesses must testify in the case, to prove one to be a witch?

Answer. They must witness the person did put forth some act which, if true, was an act of witchcraft, or familiarity with the devil, the witness attest the fact to be upon his certain knowledge, and the judges to judge that fact to be such a crime.

Query 4th. What acts are they which must be proved to be committed by a person that shall be counted legal proof of witchcraft, or familiarity with the devil?

Answer. This I do profess to be so hard a question, for want of light from the Word of God and laws of men, that I do not know what to say to it; and therefore humbly conceive that, in such a difficulty, it may be more safe for the present to let a guilty person live till further discovery, than to put an innocent person to death: 1st, Because a guilty person may afterward be discovered, and so put to death; but an innocent person to be put to death cannot be brought again to life when

once dead; 2d, Because secret things belong to God only, but revealed things to us and to our children; and though it be so difficult sometimes, yet witches there are, and may be known by some acts or other put forth by them, that may render them such; for Scripture examples I can remember but few in the Old Testament besides Balaam (Numb. xxii. 6; xxxi. 16).

First. The sorcerers of Egypt could not tell the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, though he told them his dream (Gen. xli. 8). His successors afterward had sorcerers, that by enchantments did, first, turn their rods into serpents (Exod. vii. 11, 12); second, turned water into blood; third, brought frogs upon the land of Egypt (Exod. viii. 7).

Second. Nebuchadnezzar's magicians said that they would tell him the interpretation if he would tell them his dream (Dan. iv. 7); but the king did not believe them (verses 8, 9).

Third. The Witch of Endor raised the devil, in the likeness of Samuel, to tell Saul his fortune; and Saul made use of him accordingly (1 Sam. xxviii. 8, 11–15); and, as for the New Testament, I see very little of that nature. Our Lord Jesus Christ did cast out many devils, and so did his disciples, both while he was upon earth and afterward, of which some were dreadfully circumstanced (Mark ix. 18; Mark v. 2–5); but of witches, we only read of four mentioned in the apostles' time: 1st, Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9, 11); 2d, Elymas the sorcerer (Acts xiii. 6, 8); 3d, The seven sons of Sceva, a Jew, that were vagabond Jews—exorcists (Acts xix, 13–16); 4th, The girl which, by a spirit of divination, brought her master much gain (Acts xvi. 16), whether it were by telling fortunes or finding out lost things, as our cunning men do, is not said; but something it was that was done by that spirit which was in her, which, being cast out, she could not do. Now, whatever was done by any of these, by the help of the devil, or by virtue of familiarity with him, or that the devil did do by their consent or instigation, it is that which, the like being now proved to be done by others, is legal conviction of witchcraft or familiarity with the devil.

As I remember, Mr. Perkins apprehends witchcraft may be sometimes committed by virtue of an implicit covenant with the devil, though there be not implicit covenant visibly be-

tween them, namely, by using such words and gestures whereby they do intimate to the devil what they would have him do, and he doth it.

To tell events contingent, or to bring anything to pass by supernatural means, or by no means.

I have heard of some that make a circle, and mumble over some uncouth words; and some, that have been spiteful and suspicious persons, that have sent for a handful of thatch from the house or barn of him that they have owed a spite to, and the house has been burned as they had burned, the thatch that they fetched.

When Captain Smith was cast away in the ship built by Mr. Stevens at Gloucester, many years ago, it was said that the woman that was accused for doing it did put a dish in a pail of water, and sent her girl several times to see the motion of the dish, till at last it was turned over, and then the woman said, "Now, Smith is gone," or "is cast away."

A neighbor of mine, who is a Hampshire man, told me that a suspected woman desired something of some of the family, which being denied, she either muttered or threatened, and some evil suddenly followed, and they put her into a cart, to carry her to Winchester; and when they had gone a little way the team could not move the cart, though in plain ground. The master commanded to carry a knitch of straw and burn her in the cart; which to avoid, she said they should go along, and they did. This they did several times before they came to Winchester, of which passages the men that went with her gave their oaths, and she was executed.

Some have been transformed into dogs, cats, hares, hogs, and other creatures; and in those shapes have sometimes received wounds which have made them undeniably guilty, and so confessed. Sometimes having their imps sucking them, or infallible tokens that they are sucked, in the search of which great caution to be given, because of some superfluities of nature, and diseases that people are incident unto, as the piles, etc., of which the judges are, upon the testimony of the witnesses, to determine what of crime is proved by any of these circumstances, with many other, in which God is pleased many times, by some overt acts, to bring to light that secret wickedness to

apparent conviction, sometimes by their own necessitated confession, whereby those that he hath commanded to be put to death may be known to be such; which, when known, then it is a duty to put them to death, and not before, though they were as guilty before as then.

There are two queries more with respect to what is proper to us in this juncture of time, of which we have no account of the like being common at other times or in other places, namely, these:

Query 5th. The fifth query is, what are we to think of those persons at Salem, or the Village, before whom the people are brought for detection, or otherwise to be concerned with them, in order to their being apprehended or acquitted?

Answer. That I am, of all men, the least able to give any conjecture about it, because I do not know it, having myself never seen it, or know nothing of it but by report, in which there must be supposed a possibility of some mistake, in part or in whole; but that which I have here heard is this: 1st, That they do tell who are witches, of which some they know and some they do not; 2d, They tell who did torment such and such a person, though they know not the person; 3d, They are tormented themselves by the looks of persons that are present, and recovered again by the touching of them; 4th, That, if they look to them, they fall down tormented; but, if the persons accused look from them, they recover, or do not fall into that torment; 5th, They can tell when a person is coming before they see them, and what clothes they have; and some, what they have done for several years past, which nobody else ever accused them with, nor do not yet think them guilty of; 6th, That the dead out of their graves do appear unto them, and tell them that they have been murdered, and require them to see them to be revenged on the murderers, which they name to them; some of which persons are well known to die their natural deaths, and publicly buried in the sight of all men. Now, if these things be so, I thus affirm: 1st, That whatsoever is done by them that is supernatural is either divine or diabolical; 2d, That nothing is or can be divine but what has God's stamp upon it, to which he refers for trial (Isa. viii. 19, 20): "If they speak not according to

these, there is no light in them;" 3d, And by that rule none of these actions of theirs have any warrant in God's word, but condemned wholly.

1st, It is utterly unlawful to inquire of the dead, or to be informed by them (Isa. viii. 19). It was an act of the Witch of Endor to raise the dead, and of a reprobate Saul to inquire of him (1 Sam. xxviii. 8, 11–14; Deut. xviii. 11); 2d, It is a like evil to seek to them that have familiar spirits (Lev. xix. 31). It was the sin of Saul in the forementioned place (1 Sam. xxviii. 8), and of wicked Manasses (2 Kings, xxi. 6); 3d, No more is it likely that there racking and tormenting should be done by God or good angels, but by the devil, whose manner has ever been to be so employed. Witness his dealing with the poor child (Mark ix. 17, 19, 20–22), and with the man that was possessed by him (Mark v. 2–5), besides what he did to Job (Job ii. 7), and all the lies that he told against him to the very face of God; 4th, The same may be rationally said of all the rest. Who should tell them things that they do not see but the devil, especially when some things that they tell are false and mistaken?

Query 6th. These things premised, it now comes to the last and greatest question or query, namely: How shall it be known when the devil do any of these acts of his own proper motion, without human concurrence, consent, or instigation, and when he doth it by the suggestion or consent of any person? This question, well resolved, would do our business: 1st, That the devil can do acts supernatural without the furtherance of him by human consent or concurrence; but men or women cannot do them without the help of the devil (must be granted). That granted, it follows that the devil is always the doer, but whether abetted in it by anybody is uncertain; 2d, Will it be sufficient for the devil himself to say such a man or woman set him a work to torment such a person by looking upon him? Is the devil a competent witness in such a case? 3d, Or are those that are tormented by him legal witnesses to say that the devil doth it by the procurement of such a person, whereas they know nothing about it but what comes to them from the devil (that torments them)? 4th, May we believe the witches that do accuse any one because they say

so (can the fruit be better than the tree)? If the root of all their knowledge be the devil, what must their testimony be? 5th, Their testimony may be legal against themselves, because they know what themselves do, but cannot know what another doth but by information from the devil: I mean in such cases when the person accused do deny it, and his conversation is blameless (Prov. xviii. 5; Prov. xix. 5).

1st, It is directly contrary to the use of reason, the law of nature, and principles of humanity, to deny it and plead innocent when accused of witchcraft, and yet, at the very same time, to be acting witchcraft in the sight of all men, when they know their lives lie at stake by doing it. Self-interest teaches every one better; 2d, It is contrary to the devil's nature, or common practice, to accuse witches. They are a considerable part of his kingdom, which would fall if divided against itself (Matt. xii. 26); except we think he that spoke the words understood not what he said (which were blasphemy to think); or that those common principles or maxims are now changed; or that the devil has changed his nature, and is now become a reformer, to purge out witches out of the world, out of the country, and out of the churches; and is to be believed, though a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and also though his business is going about continually seeking whom he may destroy (1 Pet. v. 8); and his peculiar subject of his accusation are the brethren; called the accuser of the brethren.

Objection. God does sometimes bring things to light by his providence in a way extraordinary.

Answer. It is granted God has done so, and brought hidden things to light, which, upon examination, have been proved or confessed, and so the way is clear for their execution; but what is that to this case, where the devil is accuser and witness?

CHAPTER XXIV.

MR. UPHAM'S COMMENTS ON THE WITCHCRAFT PROCEEDINGS, AND ON ROBERT PIKE'S ARGUMENT AGAINST THEM.

THE following extract is from the Hon. C. W. Upham's able and exhaustive "History of the Salem Witchcraft," to which we have before referred (Supplement to vol. ii. p. 449):

It can hardly be said that there was any open and avowed opposition in the community to the [witchcraft] proceedings during their early progress. There is some uncertainty and obscurity as to what extent there was an unexpressed dissent in the minds of particular private persons. On the general subject of the existence and the power of the devil and his agency, more or less, in influencing human and earthly affairs, it would be difficult to prove that there was any considerable difference of opinion.

The first undisguised and unequivocal opposition to the proceedings was a remarkable document that has recently come to light. Among some papers which have found their way to the custody of the Essex Institute is a letter dated "Salisbury, August 9th, 1692," addressed "To the worshipful Jonathan Corwin, Esq., these present, at his house in Salem." It is endorsed, "A letter to my grandfather, on account of the condemnation of the witches." Its date shows that it was written while the public infatuation and fury were at their height, and the Court was sentencing to death and sending to the gallows its successive cart-loads. There is no injunction of secrecy, and no shrinking from responsibility. Although the name of the writer is not given in full, he was evidently well known to Corwin, and had written to him before on the subject. The

messenger, in accordance with the superscription, undoubtedly delivered it into the hands of the judge at his residence, on the corner of Essex and North streets. The fact that Jonathan Corwin preserved this document, and placed it in the files of his family papers, is pretty good proof that he appreciated the weight of its arguments. It is not improbable that he expressed himself to that effect to his brethren on the bench, and perhaps to others. What he said, and the fact that he was holding such a correspondence, may have reached the ears of the accusers, and led them to commence a movement against him by crying out upon his mother-in-law.

The letter is a most able argument against the manner in which the trials were conducted, and by conclusive logic overthrows the whole fabric of the evidence on the strength of which the Court was convicting and taking the lives of innocent persons. No such piece of reasoning has come to us from that age. Its author must be acknowledged to have been an expert in dialectic subtleties, and a pure reasoner, of unsurpassed acumen and force. It requires, but it will reward, the closest attention and concentration of thought in following the threads of the argument. It reaches its conclusions on a most difficult subject with clearness and certainty. It achieves and realizes, in mere mental processes, quantities, and forces, on the points at which it aims, what is called demonstration in mathematics and geometry.

The writer does not discredit, but seems to have received, the then prevalent doctrines relating to the personality, power, and attributes of the devil, and from that standpoint controverts and demolishes the principles on which the Court was proceeding in reference to the "spectral evidence," and the credibility of the "afflicted children" generally. The letter, and the formal argument appended to it, arrest notice in one or two general aspects. There is an appearance of their having proceeded from an elderly person, not at all from any marks of infirmity of intellect, but rather from an air of wisdom and a tone of authority which can only result from long experience and observation. The circumstance that an amanuensis was employed, and the author writes the initials of his signature only, strengthens this impression. At the same time there are

indications of a free and progressive spirit, more likely to have had force at an earlier period of life. In some aspects the document indicates a theological education, and familiarity with matters that belong to the studies of a minister; in others, it manifests habits of mind and modes of expression and reasoning more natural to one accustomed to close legal statements and deductions. If the production of a trained professional man of either class, it would justly be regarded as remarkable. If its author belonged to neither class, but was merely a local magistrate, farmer, and militia officer, it becomes more than remarkable. There must have been a high development among the founders of our villages when the laity could present examples of such a capacity to grasp the most difficult subjects and conduct such acute and abstruse disquisitions.

The question as to the authorship of this paper may well excite interest, involving as it does minute critical speculations. The elements that enter into its solution illustrate the difficulties and perplexities encompassing the study of local antiquities, and attempts to determine the origin and bearing of old documents or to settle minute points of history. The weight of evidence seems to indicate that the document is attributable to Major Robert Pike of Salisbury. Whoever was its author did his duty nobly, and stands alone, above all the scholars and educated men of the time, in bearing testimony, openly, bravely, in the very ears of the Court, against the disgraceful and shocking course they were pursuing. . . . . .

The facts and considerations in reference to the authorship of the letter to Jonathan Corwin may be summarily stated as follows: The letter was signed "R. P." Under these initials is written "Robert Paine" in a different hand, and, as the ink as well as the chirography shows, at a somewhat later date. R. P. are blotted over, but with ink of such lighter hue that the original letters are clearly discernible under it. A Robert Paine graduated at Harvard College in 1656, but he was probably the foreman of the grand jury that brought in all the indictments in the witchcraft trials, and therefore could not, from the declarations of the letter itself, have been its author. The only other person of that name at the time, of whom we have knowledge, was his father, who seems, by the evidence

we have, to have died in 1693. (That date is given in the Harvard Triennial for the death of Robert Paine the graduate, but erroneously, I think, as signatures to documents, and conveyances of property subsequently, can hardly be ascribed to any other person.) Robert Paine, the father, from the earliest settlement of Ipswich, had been one of the leading men of the town, apparently of larger property than any other, often its deputy in the General Court, and, for a great length of time, ruling elder of the church. "Elder Paine," or Penn, as the name was often spelled, enjoyed the friendship of John Norton, and all the ministers far and near, and religious meetings were often held at his house. We know nothing to justify us in saying that he could not have been the author of this paper; but we also know nothing, except the appearance of his name upon it, to impute it to him.

The document is dated from "Salisbury." So far as we know, Elder Paine always lived in Ipswich; although having property in the upper county, he may often have been (and possibly in his last years resided) there. It is, it is true, a strong circumstance that his name is written, although by a late hand, under the initials. It shows that the person who wrote it thought that "R. P." meant Robert Paine; but any one conversant especially with the antiquities of Ipswich or this part of the country, might naturally fall into such a mistake. The authorship of documents was often erroneously ascribed. The words "Robert Pain" were, probably, not on the paper when the endorsement was made: "A letter to my grandfather," etc. Elder Robert Paine, if living in 1692, was ninety-one years of age. The document under consideration, if composed by him, is truly a marvellous production—an intellectual phenomenon not easily to be paralleled.

The facts in reference to Robert Pike of Salisbury, as they bear upon the question of the authorship of the document, are these: He was seventy-six years of age in 1692, and had always resided in "Salisbury." The letter and argument are both in the handwriting of Captain Thomas Bradbury, Recorder of old Norfolk County. On this point there can be no question. Bradbury and Pike had been fellow-townsmen for more than half a century, connected by all the ties of neigh-

borhood and family intermarriage, and jointly or alternately had borne all the civic and military honors the people could bestow. The document was prepared and delivered to the judge while Mrs. Bradbury was in prison, and just one month before her trial. Pike, as has been shown (p. 226), was deeply interested in her behalf. The original signature ("R. P.") has the marked characteristics of the same initial letters, as found in innumerable autographs of his on file or record. There are interlineations, beyond question, in Pike's handwriting. These facts demonstrate both Pike and Bradbury were concerned in producing the document.

The history of Robert Pike proves that he was a man of great ability, had a turn of mind toward logical exercises, and was from early life conversant with disputations. Nearly fifty years before he argued in town meeting against the propriety, in view of civil and ecclesiastical law, of certain acts of the General Court. They arraigned, disfranchised, and otherwise punished him for his "litigiousness;" but the weight of his character soon compelled them to restore his political rights, and the people of Salisbury, the very next year, sent him among them as their deputy, and continued him from time to time in that capacity. At a subsequent period he was the leader and spokesman of a party in a controversy about some ecclesiastical affairs, involving apparently certain nice questions of theology, which created a great stir through the country. The contest reached so high a point that the church at Salisbury excommunicated him; but the public voice demanded a council of churches, which assembled in September, 1676, and reinstated Major Pike, condemning his excommunication, "finding it not justifiable, upon divers grounds." On this occasion, as before, the General Court frowned upon and denounced him; but the people came again to his rescue, sending him, at the next election, into the House of Deputies, and kept him there until raised to the upper house as an Assistant. He was in the practice of conducting causes in the courts, and was long a local Magistrate and one of the county Judges.

He does not appear to have been present at any of the trials or examinations of 1692, but his official position as Assistant

caused many depositions taken in his neighborhood to be acknowledged and sworn before him. While entertaining the prevalent views about diabolical agency, he always disapproved of the proceedings of the Court, in the particulars to which the arguments of the communication to Jonathan Corwin apply—the "spectre evidence," and the statements and actings of "the afflicted children." There are indications that sometimes he saw through the folly of the stories told by persons whose depositions he was called to attest. One John Pressy was circulating a wonderful tale about an encounter he had with the spectre of Susanna Martin. Pike sent for him and took his deposition. Pressy averred that one evening, coming from Amesbury Ferry, he fell in with the shape of Martin in the form of a body of light, which "seemed to be about the bigness of a half-bushel." After much dodging and manœuvering, and being lost and bewildered, wandering to and fro, tumbling into holes—where, as the deposition states, no "such pits" were known to exist—and other misadventures, he came to blows with the light, and had several brushes with it, striking it with his stick. At one time "he thinks he gave her at least forty blows." He finally succeeded in finding "his own house, but, being then seized with fear, could not speak till his wife spoke to him at the door, and was in such a condition that the family was afraid of him; which story being carried to town the next day, it was, upon inquiry, understood that said goodwife Martin was in such a miserable case and in such pain that they swabbed her body, as was reported." He concludes his deposition by saying that Major Pike "seemed to be troubled that this deponent had not told him of it in season, that she might have been viewed, to have seen what her ail was." The affair had happened "about twenty-four years ago." Probably neither Pressy nor the Court appreciated the keenness of the major's expression of regret. It broke the bubble of the deposition. The whole story was the product of a benighted imagination, disordered by fear, filled with inebriate vagaries, exaggerated in nightmare, and resting upon wild and empty rumors. Robert Pike's course, in the case of Mrs. Bradbury, harmonizes with the supposition that he was Corwin's correspondent.

Materials may be brought to light that will change the evidence on this point. It may be found that Elder Paine died before 1692; that would dispose of the question. It may appear that he was living in Salisbury at the time, and acted with Pike and Bradbury, they giving to the paper the authority of his venerable name and years. But all that is now known constrains me to the conclusion stated in the text.

It is well established that Robert Paine, son of Elder Robert Paine, was foreman of the jury in the witchcraft trials.

Mr. Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," says the death of Elder Robert Paine took place in 1684. Joseph B. Felt, in his "History of Ipswich," where Elder Robert Paine resided, says, in his obituary and biographical notices, chronologically arranged, under date of 1684, "Robert Paine died about this year; born 1601."

Elder Paine was a practical man, possessing a considerable estate, and much engaged with business affairs. He held numerous trusts, and was both town and county treasurer. He resigned the latter office in 1683. If there were no other reasons, it is not according to the course of nature that he should have composed such an argument as this at the age of ninety-one, had he lived so long.

CHAPTER XXV.

FINAL RECORD OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. — LAST OF ROBERT PIKE'S CORRESPONDENCE. — END OF HIS CAREER.

The witchcraft proceedings of 1692 were accompanied and followed by the same never-ending tale of savage depredations and murders, and the efforts of the whites to obtain peace.

The subjoined letter from Rev. John Pike, chaplain at Pemaquid, son of Robert, written in 1695, is an illustration of this condition of affairs. John was a minister of respectability, and his journal, kept at Dover, where he was afterward settled, is among the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

To the Governor and Council.

Pemaquid, July 4th, 1695.

I need not trouble your honors with any relation of our late transactions, because the commissioners are now returning home. We understand that neither the Council nor your honor did approve our former treaty with the Indians. We plainly told them we could make no truce or agreement with them unless the Council approved thereof; and, if it were not so expressed in our letter, it was for lack of time to word it right. But we could not get the captives out of their hands by anything less than what was done. I presume the gentlemen sent hither to treat are sufficiently convinced there is nothing to be gained of this subtle and deceitful enemy by holding them to strict terms; neither will they be held to their own words and promises. But what I always thought is now apparent, that they only aimed at the getting of bommazeen, etc., in all their

pretences—which, not according with their expectation, they seem little concerned about peace, and went off with much discontent. It is also evident they have been Frenchified, both in spirit and apparel, since their former treaty with us. I have acquainted the gentlemen sent hither with my necessity of returning home (as I formerly signified it to your honors), which is strongly urged upon me by the danger of the enemy, and the spreading sickness in these parts. Craving leave to subscribe myself Your honors' humble servant, JOHN PIKE.

The following letter of Robert Pike, dated, as will be seen, in July, 1695, is the last of his preserved correspondence with the government. It is probably among the last of his communications, as he does not appear at any meeting of the Assistants after the succeeding month of May, 1696.

He was now eighty years of age, and, as his journey of forty miles to the Capitol at Boston was made usually on horseback, it was but natural that he should think of retiring from public service.

To the Governor and Council.

Salisbury, July the 29th, 1695.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,—Not knowing of whom it might be expected to give your honors an account of the issue of our last week's motion—which made so great a noise, and the result of which no better account can be given by reason of some false steps taken in it—I before informed you that on Wednesday morning, when the cattle were driven away, Amesbury men signified it to Colonel Peirce in a letter. Colonel Peirce writ on the backside of the letter, "Show this to Major Pike," and he did so; upon which we sent a young man into the meadow with a trumpet sounding, and fetched the captain and many men out of the meadow, and presently posted up a matter of thirty men, so that with Amesbury and Salisbury we had about sixty. It is to be observed that no alarm was given either at Amesbury or Salisbury, because they had no great

hope of an opportunity of taking the enemy, supposing it to be the main body of them, and therefore considered it not wise to move but with numbers suitable. There came from Newbury at first under twenty, but the next day Colonel Peirce himself went over with so many more as made their numbers one hundred and four. Because of the smokes that were discovered, which increased their confidence of the case, Colonel Peirce sent post to Ipswich and Salem, which by Friday had sent in two troops of horse, for which we owe the acknowledgment of all care and readiness of Colonel Peirce, Colonel Appleton, and Colonel Gedney, to accommodate us with suitable supply, as soon as could be expected. It is to be understood that when Colonel Peirce was at Amesbury he found the troops had made Captain Harvey chief. Their motions were impeded the first night by the rain, so that they went not on till Thursday night, which was a very still night. While waiting for the rising of the moon they heard some passing over a brook, which they judged were Indians, about a furlong off. They had a dog among the Amesbury men that met with some game, and bawled at it a long time, so that it was probable our men were discovered. The Newbury men drew off, because they said their order was but to be at the garrison, except there did appear two hundred men. After they were gone the rest went on through folly, and some of the disorderly among them set themselves in a single rank, intending to sweep over a hill and so come upon the place of the smokes. They fell short of it, and, being tired out, returned before the horse came to assist them; and so it ended. The troopers and their commanders showed themselves wonderful gentlemen, desirous to have done service could they have had guides; but those are hideous woods. What they then did themselves will give the best account. We understand there went out about seventy men from the province as from Exeter. What they met with I yet hear not, but the effect of it all, with the blessing of God, is that eight of nine oxen, and the fat cow, are come again; so that the enemy have got but one ox, except it may be some young cattle that they do not know of. The last oxen came home Friday night in a strange plight. This is the account that I had of Lieutenant Allen and Sergeant Eaton as concern-

ing their actions, and from some of the Amesbury men, this morning, about the coming in of the other cattle—all which I thought it my duty to signify to your honors, to prevent any abuse by false rumors. Craving your pardon and leave to subscribe myself Your most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

On the 27th of May, 1696, we find the writer of the foregoing letter at his post, at a meeting of the Board of Assistants in Boston. But he only appears for a single day, and it is his last day of service there.

For the remaining ten years and a half of his life he lived at home. During this period we find him much occupied with his private affairs. In company with his favorite son John, whom he had made his trustee and attorney, he was engaged at intervals in disposing by gift of the various portions of his estate to his numerous heirs. He left nothing by will, choosing this method of settlement in preference to that of bequests. So far as the county records show, we give in the Appendix an abstract of these transactions. It will be observed, on their perusal, that his affection and generosity were held in wise subordination to the last. Such of his possessions as he thought he needed for his own use and occupation, and even those for which he thought he might have only a contingent and possible use, he carefully preserved, by the condition that the transfer was not to take effect until a considerable period after his decease.

In this practical and leisurely manner were the last days of Robert Pike passed, and finally ended on the 12th of December, 1706, when he died, at the age of nearly ninety-one years. He was gathered to his fathers, and no stone marks his resting-place.

The following chronological table is taken from the

Massachusetts archives. It embraces the period after the Revolution in England of 1688, and that in Massachusetts in 1689, till the close of Robert Pike's public life:

1689.

April 25th. Major Robert Pike appointed one of the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of thirty-seven members.

May 9th. He appears at a meeting of the Council; twenty-six members present.

May 10th. Present at same. At a meeting of sixty-five representatives of towns it was resolved that the government of 1686 should resume the control of affairs. The Assistants, ten being present, recommended a further reference to the people. The record says, "Major Pike agreeing, but going home before signing."

May 22d. A meeting of the Council, twenty-two in number, Robert Pike being present.

May 25th. Meeting of Council. Robert Pike present, with seven others.

October 2d. Meeting of Council. Robert Pike present, with twelve others.

1690.

April 17th. Meeting of Governor and Council. Robert Pike present, with eight others.

May 10th. "*Ordered*, that Major Robert Pike be commander-in-chief of the forces that are gone and going eastward for the prosecution of the common French and Indian enemy, and commission and instructions were given him accordingly."

May 28th. Meeting of Governor and Council. Present, Robert Pike and ten others.

General Court assembled, and election was made of Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants; among them, Robert Pike, Sir William Phips, Samuel Sewall, Wait Winthrop, Jonathan Cumin, E. Hutchinson, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Samuel Appleton, etc.

Meeting of Assistants. Robert Pike and eight others present.

October 21st. Meeting of Governor and Council. Robert Pike present, and eight others.

December 10th. Meeting of Governor and Council. Present, Robert Pike and nine others.

"*Ordered*, that Major Robert Pike be allowed for his services to the country, against the common enemy at the eastward, eight pounds per month."

1691.

May 20th. Meeting of the Governor and Council. Robert Pike present, with twelve others.

May 21st. Meeting of General Court. Robert Pike chosen Assistant for year ensuing.

1692.

WITCHCRAFT YEAR.

May 4th. Robert Pike chosen Assistant.

May 5th. Meeting of Governor and Council. Present, Robert Pike and twelve others.

June 8th. Meeting of same. Present, Robert Pike and twenty-three others. The record says: "Robert Pike, Esq., one of the members of the Council, took his oath for the due and faithful performance of his office of Councillor, as also the oaths appointed to be taken by direction of the Chamber, and repeated and subscribed the declaration." Sir William Phips, Governor.

June 14th. Present in Council, Robert Pike and twenty others.

October 15th. Present in Council, Robert Pike and fifteen others. Remain in continuous session to November 2d. (Debates of this period much needed.)

1693.

May 31st. Robert Pike chosen Councillor, with twenty-four others.

June 2d. Present in Council, Robert Pike and fourteen others. Continuous session to June 16th.

1694.

May 30th. Robert Pike appears as Councillor.

May 31st. Same, with thirty-one others, and continued to June 15th.

1695.

February 28th. Meeting of Governor and Council. Present, Robert Pike and twenty-one others. Remains till March 15th.

May 29th. Robert Pike appears as Councillor, with twenty-one others, and remains to June 19th.

1696.

May 27th. Robert Pike appears as Councillor, with twenty-five others. This is his last appearance in a public capacity.

APPENDIX I.

DEPOSITIONS TAKEN BY ROBERT PIKE IN THE CASE OF SUSANNA MARTIN, EXECUTED AS A WITCH, 1692.

The deposition of William Brown of Salisbury, aged seventy years, who, testifying, saith: That about one or two and thirty years ago Elizabeth, his wife, being a very rational woman and sober, and one that feared God, as was well known to all that knew her, and as prudently careful in her family, which woman going upon a time from her own house towards the mill in Salisbury, did there meet with Susanna Martin, the then wife of George Martin, of Amesbury. Just as they came together the said Susanna Martin vanished away out of her sight, which put the said Elizabeth into a great fright; after which time the said Martin did many times afterward appear to her at her house, and did much trouble her in many of her occasions; and this continued till about February following, and then, when she did come, it was as birds pecking her legs or pricking her with the motion of their wings; and then it would rise up into her stomach, with pricking pain, as nails and pins; of which she did bitterly complain, and cry out like a woman in travail; and after that it would rise up to her throat in a bunch like a pullet's egg, and then she would turn back her head and say, "Witch, ye sha'n't choke me."

In the times of this extremity the church appointed a day of humiliation, to seek God on her behalf; and there-

upon her trouble ceased, and she saw goodwife Martin no more for a considerable time, for which the church, instead of the day of humiliation, gave thanks for her deliverance. She came to meeting and went about her business as before. This continued till April following, at which time summonses were sent to the said Elizabeth Brown and goodwife Osgood by the court to give their evidences concerning the said Martin; and they did, before the grand jury, give a full account.

After which time the said Elizabeth told this deponent that, as she was milking of her cow, the said Susanna Martin came behind her and told her that she would make her the miserablest creature for defaming her name at the court, and wept grievously as she told it to this deponent.

About two months after this deponent came home from Hampton, and his said wife would not own him, but said they were divorced, and asked him whether he did not meet with one Mrs. Bent of Albury, in England, by whom he was divorced. And from that time to this very day she has been under a strange kind of distemper and frenzy, incapable of any rational action, though strong and healthy of body. He further testifyeth that when she came into that condition this deponent [got] Drs. Fuller and Crosby to come to her for her release, but they did both say that her distemper was supernatural; no sickness of body, but that some evil person had bewitched her.

Sworn the 11th of May, Anno Domini 1692, before me,

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

16; 3, 1692.*

Concerning the truth of what is sworn by William Brown concerning his wife, with respect to her being a ra-

* May 16th, 1692.

tional woman before she was so handled, and of her now present condition, and her so long continuance, all that then knew her and now know her can testify to the truth of it, for she yet remains a miserable creature, of which myself is a witness. ROBERT PIKE.

The deposition of Joseph Ring of Salisbury, aged twenty-seven years. Being sworn, saith: That about the latter end of September last, being in the wood with his brother, Jarvis Ring, hewing of timber, his brother went home with his team and left this deponent alone to finish the hewing of the [timber] for him . . . . . to carry when he came again. But as soon as his brother was gone there came to this deponent the appearance of Thomas Hardy, of the great island at Piscataway, and by some impulse he was forced to follow him to the house of Henry Tuker, which was deserted, and was about half a mile from the place he was at work in, and in that house did appear Susanna Martin of Amesbury, and the aforesaid Hardy, and another female person, which the deponent did not know. There they had a good fire and drink. It seemed to be cider. They continued most part of the night. Said Martin was then in her natural shape, and talked as she used to do. But toward the morning the said Martin went from the fire, made a noise, and turned into the shape of a black hog, and went away, and so did the other person go away, and this deponent was strangely carried away also, and the first place he knew was by Samuel Weed's house in Amesbury.

Sworn by Joseph Ring, May 13th, 1692, before me,

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

Jarvis Ring of Salisbury maketh oath as followeth: That about seven or eight years ago he had been several

times afflicted in the night-time by somebody or something coming up upon him when he was in bed, and did sorely afflict him by lying upon him; and he could neither move nor speak while it was upon him, but sometimes made a kind of noise that folks did hear him and come up to him, and as soon as anybody came it would be gone. Thus it did for a long time bother him, but he did never see anybody clearly but one time. . . . . But one time in the night it came upon me as at other times, and I did then see the person Susanna Martin of Amesbury. I, this deponent, did perfectly see her . . . . . come to this deponent and took him by the hand and bit him . . . . . by force, and then came and lay upon him awhile as [before]; and after awhile went away.

[Some of this paper gone.]

Sworn to before ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The testimony of John Pressy of Amesbury, aged fifty-three years or thereabout, taken before me, at my house at Salisbury, the eleventh day of May, Anno Domini, 1692, *is as followeth:* That about twenty-four years ago he, this deponent, was at Amesbury ferry upon a Saturday, in the evening, near about the shutting in of the daylight (which was about three miles from his house); and as he was going home, a little beyond the field of George Martin, at a hill called Goodall's Hill, the deponent was bewildered and lost his way; and having wandered awhile he came back again to the same place, which he knew by stooping trees in that place; which perceiving, he set out again and steered by the moon, which shone bright, and was again lost, and came back again to the same place. And then set out the third time in like manner, and was bewildered and came back, but not so far as before, but knew where

he was, and so set himself in his way as before. And in less than half a mile going he saw a light stand on his left hand, about two rods out of the way. It seemed to be about the bigness of a half bushel, but this deponent kept on his way and left it; and in a number of seven or eight rods going it appeared again, at the like distance from him as before, and so it did again the third time; but the deponent passed on his way, and in less than twenty rods going the same or such another light lay in his way; and he having a stick in his hand did, with the end of it, endeavor to stir it out of the place, and to give it some small blows. And the light seemed to bristle up and wave from side to side, as a turkey-cock when he spreads his tail, but went not out of the place. Which perceiving, this deponent laid on with his stick with all his might; he thinks he gave her at least forty blows; and so was going away to leave it, but, as he was going, his heels were struck up and he laid on his back on the ground, and was sliding into a deep place (as to him seemed), but taking hold of some brush or bushes he recovered himself, and having lost his coat, which he had upon his arm, went back to the light, saw his coat, and took it up and went home without any more disturbance. *He further saith*, That he does not know any such pit to be in the place that he was sliding into. *He also saith*, That when he did strike at the light he did certainly feel a substance with his stick.

He further saith, That after his striking it, and his recovering himself and going on his way as aforesaid, when he had gone about five or six rods he saw Susanna Martin, then wife of George Martin of Amesbury, standing on his left hand, as the light had done there. She stood and looked upon him, and turned her face after him, as he went along, but said nothing or did nothing to

this deponent, as he went home as aforesaid. Only he never went to his own house, but knowing the ground he was upon, returned and found his own house; but being then seized with fear, could not speak till his wife spoke to him at the door, and was in such condition that his family was afraid of him. Which story being carried to the town the next day, it was upon inquiry understood that the said goodwife Martin was in such a miserable case, and in such pain, that they swathed her body (as was reported).

This deponent further saith, That those things being noised abroad, Major Pike sent for this deponent and had an account of the case, but seemed to be troubled that this deponent had not told him of it in season, that she might have been viewed, to have seen what her ailment was. Sworn to before ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of John Pressy, aged fifty-three, and Marah his wife, aged forty-six or thereabout, who, testifying, say: That some years after that the said John Pressy had given his evidence against the said Susanna Martin, she, the said Martin, came and took these deponents to do about it, and reviled them with many foul words, saying we had took a false oath, and said that we should never prosper for our so doing, particularly that we should never have but two cows, and that if we were ever so likely to have more, yet we should never obtain it.

We do further testify, That from that time to this day we have never exceeded that number, but something or other hath prevented it, though never so likely to obtain it, though they had used all ordinary means for obtaining it by hiring cows of others that were not their own.

John Pressy made oath to the truth of all that is above

written at my house in Salisbury, the eleventh day of May, Anno Domini 1692, before me,

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of Barnard Peake, aged forty-three or thereabout, who, testifying, saith: That about six or seven years since, this deponent, living at the house of Jacob Morell, in Salisbury, being in bed on a Lord's Day night, he heard a scrabbling at the window; he, this deponent, saw Susanna Martin, wife of George Martin of Amesbury, come in at the window and jump down upon the floor. She was in her hood and scarf, and the same dress that she was in before at meeting the same day. Being come in, she was coming up toward this deponent's face, but turned back to his feet and took hold of them, and drew up his body into a heap, and lay upon him about an hour and a half or two hours, in all which time this deponent could not stir or speak; but feeling himself beginning to be loosened or lightened, and beginning to strive, he put out his hand among the clothes and took hold of her hand, and brought it up to his mouth and bit three of the fingers (as he judged) to the breaking of the bones; which done, the said Martin went out of the chamber down the stairs and out of the door. And as soon as she went away this deponent called to the people of the house and told them what was done, and that she, said Martin, was now gone out of the door. This deponent did also follow her, but the people did not see her (as they said); but without the door there was a bucket on the left hand, and there was a drop of blood in the bucket, two more upon the snow, for there was a little flight of snow, and there were the prints of her two feet about a foot without the threshold, but no more footing did appear.

He further deposeth, That some time after this, as he

supposeth about three weeks after, the said Martin desired this deponent to come and husk corn at her house the next Lord's Day night, and said that if I did not come it were better that I did. But this deponent did not go, being then living with William Osgood, of the said Salisbury, and that night lodged in the barn upon the hay; and about an hour or two in the night the said Susanna Martin and another came out of the shop into the barn, and one of them said, "Here he is," and then came toward this deponent. He, having a quarter-staff, made a blow at them, but the roof of the barn prevented it, and they went away; but this deponent followed them, and as they were going toward the window made another blow at them and struck them both down; but away they went out of the shop window, and this deponent saw no more of them. And the rumor went that the said Martin had a broken head at the time, but the deponent cannot speak to that upon his own knowledge.

Sworn, May 11th, 1692, before me,

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

Joseph Ring of Salisbury, aged twenty-seven years, having been strangely handled for the space of almost two years, maketh this relation upon oath, as followeth, viz.: That in the month of June next after Casco Bay fort was taken, this deponent, coming between Sandybeach and Hampton town, met with Thomas Hardy of Great Island, and a company of several other creatures with him. Said Hardy demanded of this deponent two shillings, and with the dreadful hideous shapes of these creatures, and fireballs, this deponent was almost frightened out of his wits, and in about half an hour (or, indeed, he could not judge of the time) they left him, and he came to Hampton.

About ten days after, as the deponent came from Boston, between Rowley and Newbury, this deponent was overtaken with a company of people on horseback, who passed by him, and after they were past by him the aforesaid Thomas Hardy turned about his horse, alit, and came back to this deponent with his horse in hand, and desired the deponent to go to Mrs. White's and drink with him, which being refused, he turned away to the company, and they all came up together, such a breadth that it seemed impossible to escape being trod down by them, but they went all past, and then appeared no more.

About October following, coming from Hampton, in Salisbury Pine Plain, a company of horses, with men and women upon them, overtook the deponent; and the aforesaid Hardy, being one of them, came to this deponent as before and demanded two shillings of him, and threatened to tear him in pieces; to whom this deponent made no answer; and so he and the rest went away and left this deponent.

After this, this deponent had divers strange appearances, which did force him away with them unto unknown places, where he saw meeting and feasting and dancing, and many strange sights; and from August last he was dumb and could not speak till this last April.

He also relates, That there did use to come to him a man that did present him a book, to which he would have him set his hand, with promise of anything that he would have, and there were presented all delectable things, persons, and places imaginable; but he refusing it, would usually end with most dreadful shapes, noises, yelping and screeching, that almost scared him out of his wits; and this was the usual manner of proceeding with him. One time the book was brought and a pen offered him, and to

his apprehension there was blood in the inkhorn, but he never touched the pen. He further saith that they never told him what he should write, and he could not speak, to ask them what he should write.

He further saith, That in several of their merry meetings he has seen Susanna Martin's appearance among them. And that day that his speech came to him again, which was about the end of April last, as he was in bed, she did stand by his bedside.

Sworn to, May 13th, 1692, before ROBERT PIKE.

Be it understood that the matter about the two shillings demanded of said Ring was this, viz.: That when Casco was assaulted, before it was taken, Cedrach Walt was going from Great Island in Piscataway with a party for their relief, of which party said Ring was one; and said Hardy coming up into the room where said Ring was, before they sailed, played at shuffleboard or some such game, and urged said Ring to play. Said Ring told him he had no money, and said Hardy lent him two shillings; and then said Ring played with him, said Hardy, who won his money away from him again, and so he could not then pay him.

This account was by said Ring given to me.

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of John Kimball of Amesbury, aged forty-five or upward, who, testifying, saith: That about twenty-three years ago this deponent, being about to remove from Newbury to Amesbury, having bought a piece of land of George Martin of Amesbury, for which he was to pay him in cattle or goods upon a certain day in the March following, and when the day of payment was come Martin and his wife came for the pay, and the said Kimball

offered them the choice of three cows and other cattle, but did vest two cows, which they were not free to part with, they being the first that ever they had; and Martin himself was satisfied with their pay, but Susanna his wife, understanding from this deponent and his wife that they would not part with one of these two cows, the said Susanna Martin said, "It had been as good if you had, for they will never do you any more good." And so it came to pass, for next April following that very cow lay in the fair dry yard, with her head to her side, but stark dead; and when she was fleeced no impediment did appear in her, for she was a stout lusty cow. And in a little while after another cow died, and then an ox, and then other cattle, to the value of thirty pounds that spring.

Sworn by John Kimball, May 16th, 1692, before

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

John Kimball of Amesbury, aforementioned, further deposeth: That same year, after he was come to live at Amesbury, and was dwelling in the house of Edmund Elliott, he was minded to get a dog, and hearing that the wife of said George Martin had a bitch that had whelps, this deponent went to her to get one of her; but she not letting him have his choice, he did not absolutely agree for any, but said he heard one Blaisdell had a bitch by which he might supply himself; but if not there, or nowhere else, he would have hers at her price. But being upon that account at said Blaisdell's, and having marked the whelp that I agreed for, George Martin, coming by, asked me whether I would not have one of his wife's puppies, to which this deponent made answer in the negative.

The same day Eliot said that he was at the house of the said Martin, and heard the said Martin ask his wife whether

this deponent were not to have one of the puppies, and she said he was. Then, said he, he has got one of goodman Blaisdell's, and he saw him choose it and mark it; to which his said wife said, "If I live I'll give him puppies enough."

Within a few days after this, this deponent coming from his intended house in the woods to Edmund Elliott's house, where I dwelt, about the sunset or presently after, there did arise a little black cloud in the north-west and a few drops of rain, and the wind blew pretty hard. In going between the house of John Wood and the meeting-house the said deponent came by several stumps of trees by the wayside. He, by impulse he can give no reason of, that made him tumble over the stumps one after another, though he had his axe upon his shoulder, which put him in danger, and made him resolve to evade the next, but could not.

And when he came a little below the meeting-house there did appear a little thing like a puppy, of a darkish color. It shot between my legs forward and backward, ... and this deponent, being free from all fear, used all possible endeavor to cut it with his axe, but could not hurt it; and as he was thus belaboring with his axe, the puppy gave a little jump toward him and seemed to go into the ground. In a little farther going there did appear a black puppy somewhat bigger than the first, but as black as a coal to his apprehension, which came against him with great violence, and its quick motions did exceed his motions of his axe, do what he could; and it flew at his belly and away, and then at his throat, and over his shoulder one way, and go off, and up and at it again another way; and with such quickness, speed, and violence did it assault him, as if it would tear out his throat or belly. A good while I was without fear, but at last I felt my heart to fail, and sunk under it, that I thought my life was going out. I recovered myself

and gave a start up and ran to the fence, calling upon God and naming the name Jesus Christ, and then it invisibly went away. My meaning is, it ceased at once, but this deponent made it not known to anybody.

The next morning Edmund Elliott (as he told abroad and in his own house) said that he, going toward the house of said Martin to look after his oxen, went in to light his pipe, and the said Martin's wife asked him where Kimball was. Said Elliott said, "Abed with his wife, for aught he knew." "Then," said she, "They say he was frightened last night." "With what?" said Elliott. She said, "With puppies." Elliott replied that he heard nothing of it, and asked where she heard it. She said, "About the town." Which story (said Elliott having told it) was all the town over when this deponent came home at night; for he had been all the day alone in the woods at work at his frame.

Sworn to May 16th, 1692, by John Kimball, before

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of John Allen of Salisbury, aged forty-five years, who, testifying, saith: That in or about the year —— this deponent was hauling timber for Mr. George Carr, for building a vessel at Amesbury, at Mr. Goodin's building place, and having done and about to go home, Susanna Martin, then wife of George Martin, desired this deponent to cart staves for them, which this deponent refused to do, because of his oxen, which were weak and needed now to get flesh. She seemed to be discontent, and, as James Freez and others then present told this deponent, she said, "It had been as good if I had, for my oxen should never do me much more service;" upon which this deponent said, "Dost threaten me, thou old witch?" or words to that effect, resolving to throw her into a brook that was

fast by, which to avoid, she fled over the bridge and so escaped. But, as he was going home, one of his oxen so tired that he was forced to unyoke him to get him home. And after they were come home, he put the said oxen to Salisbury Beach, where several other oxen were, and where cattle are usually put, where they had long range of meadows to feed on, and where cattle did use to get flesh. But in a few days all the oxen upon the beech, we found by their tracks, were gone to the mouth of the river Merrimack, but not returned from thence, and we thought they were run into the said river. But the next day, sending to Plum Island, found their tracks there to be come ashore, which tracks they followed to the other end of the said island, and a considerable way back again, and there sat down. Being espied by those that sought them, they did use all imaginable gentleness to them to get some acquaintance, which some of them seemed to attend; but all on a sudden away they all ran with such violence as if their motion had been diabolical, till they came near the mouth of Merrimack River, and then turned to the right hand and ran right into the sea, all but two old oxen, which had before left their company. All the rest went to sea as far as they could see them, and then one of them came back again with such swiftness as was amazing to behold, by those who stood ready to embrace him and help his tired carcass up. But, letting him loose, away he ran up into the island, and from thence through the marshes up to Newbury town, and so up into their woods, and there he was after awhile found about Hartchok River, over against Amesbury; so that of fourteen good oxen only that one was saved; the rest never came. At last some came up at Cape Ann, some in one place and some in another, but of them they only had the hides.

He further saith, That the abovesaid James Freez did move the prosecuting of the said Susanna Martin in the case, being undoubtedly confident that she was a witch.

Lieutenant John Allen made oath to the truth of the above, June 7th, 1692, before

ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of Barnard Peake, aged forty-two or thereabout, testifieth: That about ten years ago this deponent, living with William Osgood of Salisbury, he, said Osgood, had an ox hurt and he killed him. George Martin, of Amesbury, desired to have some of the beef, but was denied and went away discontent. And the next day one of the goodliest cows my said master Osgood had was in such a mad fright that two men had much ado to get her into the house where she had usually been tied up, she did so run and fly about. The next day she, being let out, went away with the other cattle (well and lusty as far as we could discern), but came home at evening very ill, having lumps under her eyes as big as walnuts, and died the same night.

Sworn at Salisbury, the 20th day of May, 1692, before me, ROBERT PIKE, *Assistant.*

The deposition of Robert Downer of Salisbury, aged forty-two years, who testifies and says: That several years ago Susanna Martin, the then wife of George Martin, being brought to court for a witch, the said Downer had some words with her (she at that time attending Mrs. Light at Salisbury). This deponent, among other things, told her he believed that she was a witch, by what was said or witnessed against her; at which she seemed not well affected, and said that a she devil would fetch him away shortly.

At which this deponent was not much moved, but at night, as he lay in his bed in his own house alone, there came in at his window the likeness of a cat, and by-and-by came up to his bed, took fast hold of his throat, and lay hard upon him a considerable while, and was like to throttle him. At length he minded what Susanna Martin threatened him with the day before. He strove what he could, and said, "Avoid, thou she devil, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and then it let him go, and went down upon the floor and went out at the window again.

He further saith, That the next morning, before ever he had said anything of it, some of that family asked him about it (as from her own).

Mrs. Mary Andrus, aged forty years, testifies: That she did hear the said Susanna Martin threaten or tell the said Robert Downer that a she devil would fetch him away shortly. *She further saith*, That from some of her father's family she did hear that the said Susanna Martin told them how said Downer was served that night that he was afflicted as abovesaid.

APPENDIX II.

CASE OF MARY BRADBURY, CONVICTED FOR WITCHCRAFT.

[From Upham's History.]

Mary Bradbury is described, in the indictment against her, as the "wife of Captain Thomas Bradbury, of Salisbury, in the county of Essex, gentleman." A few of the documents that are preserved, belonging to her case, will give some idea what sort of a person she was:

The Answer of Mary Bradbury to the Charge of Witchcraft, or Familiarity with the Devil.

"I do plead 'Not guilty.' I am wholly innocent of any such wickedness, through the goodness of God that have kept me hitherto. I am the servant of Jesus Christ, and have given myself up to him as my only Lord and Saviour, and to the diligent attendance upon him in all his holy ordinances, in utter contempt and defiance of the devil and all his works, as horrid and detestable, and, accordingly, have endeavored to frame my life and conversation according to the rules of his holy word; and in that faith and practice resolve, by the help and assistance of God, to continue to my life's end.

"For the truth of what I say, as to matter of practice, I humbly refer myself to my brethren and neighbors that know me, and unto the Searcher of all hearts, for the truth

and uprightness of my heart therein (human frailties and unavoidable infirmities excepted, of which I bitterly complain every day). MARY BRADBURY."

July 28th, 1692.

"Concerning my beloved wife, Mary Bradbury, this is what I have to say: We have been married fifty-five years, and she hath been a loving and faithful wife to me. Unto this day she hath been wonderful laborious, diligent, and industrious, in her place and employment, about the bringing up of our family (which have been eleven children of our own and four grandchildren). She was both prudent and provident, of a cheerful spirit, liberal and charitable. She, being now very aged and weak, and grieved under her affliction, may not be able to speak much for herself, not being so free of speech as some others may be. I hope her life and conversation have been such among her neighbors as gives a better and more real testimony of her than can be expressed by words.

"Owned by me, THOMAS BRADBURY."

The Rev. James Allen made oath before Robert Pike, an Assistant and Magistrate, as follows: "I, having lived nine years in Salisbury in the work of the ministry, and now four years in the office of a pastor, to my best notice and observation of Mrs. Bradbury she hath lived according to the rules of the Gospel among us; was a constant attender upon the ministry of the Word and all the ordinances of the Gospel; full of works of charity and mercy to the sick and poor: neither have I seen or heard anything of her unbecoming the profession of the Gospel."

Robert Pike also affirmed to the truth of Mr. Allen's statement, from "upward of fifty years' experience," as did

John Pike also; they both declared themselves ready and desirous to give their testimony before the court.

One hundred and seventeen of her neighbors—the larger part of them heads of families, and embracing the most respectable people of that vicinity—signed their names to a paper, of which the following is a copy:

"Concerning Mrs. Bradbury's life and conversation, we, the subscribers, do testify, that it was such as became the Gospel; she was a lover of the ministry in all appearance, and a diligent attender upon God's holy ordinances, being of a courteous and peaceable disposition and carriage. Neither did any of us (some of whom have lived in the town with her above fifty years) ever hear or ever know that she ever had any difference or falling out with any of her neighbors—man, woman, or child—but was always ready and willing to do for them what lay in her power, night and day, though with hazard of her health or other danger. More might be spoken in her commendation, but this for the present."

Although this aged matron and excellent Christian lady was convicted and sentenced to death, it is most satisfactory to find that she escaped from prison, and her life was saved.

The following facts show the weight which ought to have been attached to these statements. The position, as well as character and age, of Mary (Perkins) Bradbury entitled her to the highest consideration in the structure of society at that time. This is recognized in the title "Mrs." uniformly given her. She had been noted through life for business capacity, energy, and influence; and, in 1692, was probably seventy-five years of age, and somewhat infirm in health. Her husband, Thomas Bradbury, had been a prominent character in the colony for more than fifty

years. In 1641 he was appointed, by the General Court, Clerk of the Writs for Salisbury, with the functions of a Magistrate, to execute all sorts of legal processes in that place. He was a Deputy in 1651 and many subsequent years; a Commissioner for Salisbury in 1657, empowered to act in all criminal cases, and to bind over offenders, where it was proper, to higher courts; to take testimonies upon oath, and to join persons in marriage. He was required to keep a record of all his doings. If the parties agreed to that effect, he was authorized to hear and determine cases of every kind and degree, without the intervention of a jury. The towns north of the Merrimack, and all beyond, now within the limits of New Hampshire, constituted the county of Norfolk, and Thomas Bradbury, for a long series of years, was one of its commissioners and associate judges. . . . .

Robert Pike, born in 1616, was a Magistrate in 1644. He was Deputy from Salisbury in 1648, and many times after; Associate-justice for Norfolk in 1650, and Assistant in 1682, holding that high station, by annual elections, to the close of the first charter, and during the whole period of the intervening and insurgent government. He was named as one of the Council that succeeded to the House of Assistants, when, under the new charter, Massachusetts became a royal province. He was always at the head of military affairs, having been commissioned, by the General Court, lieutenant of the Salisbury train-band in 1648; and in the later years of his life he held the rank and title of major. John Pike, probably his son, resided in Hampton in 1691, and was minister of Dover at his death, in 1710.

Surely the attestations of such men as the Pikes, father and son, and the Rev. James Allen, to the Christian excellence of Mary Bradbury, must be allowed to corroborate

fully the declarations of her neighbors, her husband, and herself. . . . .

The habit of maligning Mrs. Bradbury as a witch dated back in the Carr family more than thirteen years. . . . .

But the whole of George Carr's family did not sympathize in this morbid state of prejudice, or cherish such foolish and malignant fancies against Mrs. Bradbury. One of the sons (William) had married, August 20th, 1672, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Pike. It appears by the following deposition, which is in the handwriting of Major Pike, that there had been another love affair between the families, leading to a melancholy result—inflaming still more the morbid and malign prejudice against Mrs. Bradbury. But William repudiated it utterly.

"*The testimony of William Carr, aged forty-one, or thereabout, is:* That my brother, John Carr, when he was young, was a man of as good capacity as most men of his age; but falling in love with Jane True (now wife of Captain John March), and my father being persuaded by [——] of the family (which I shall not name) not to let him marry so young, my father would not give him a portion, whereupon the match broke off; which my brother laid so much to heart that he grew melancholy, and by degrees much crazed, not being the man that he was before to his dying day.

"*I do further testify,* That my said brother was sick about a fortnight or three weeks, and then died, and I was present with him when he died. And I do affirm that he died peaceably and quietly, never manifesting the least trouble in the world about anybody, or did not say anything of Mrs. Bradbury or anybody else doing him hurt; and yet I was with him till the breath and life were out of his body."

The usual form, *jurat in curia*, is written at the foot of this deposition, but evidently by a much later hand; and this leads me to mention the improbability that any testimony in favor of the accused ever reached the court at the trials. They had no counsel. The attorney-general had prejudged all the cases, and his mind and those of the judges repudiated utterly anything like an investigation. Every friendly voice was silenced. The doors were closed against the defence. Robert Pike, an Assistant under the old and a Councillor under the new government, endeavored in vain to enter them.

APPENDIX III.

SOME TRANSACTIONS OF ROBERT PIKE IN REAL ESTATE, FROM 1651 TO 1705.

PURCHASES OF LAND.

Lieutenant Robert Pike of Salisbury, for the sum of forty-five pounds, bought of Chris. Batt of Boston, with consent of Ann Batt his wife, "a certain planting-lot, containing by estimation twenty acres, more or less, now lying and being within the bounds of the town of Salisbury aforesaid: bounded with the south-west on the planting-lot of Mr. William Worcester, and with the north-east upon the Little River, and with the north-west upon the town's common, to have," etc.—11th d., 9th m., 1651.

Lieutenant Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of John Sanders, of said Salisbury, for seven pounds, "a certain parcel of meadow (part of my ten-acre meadow-lot in the great meadows), containing by estimation one acre and a half, more or less, as it is laid out and bounded, unto the said Robert Pike; and also a planting-lot lying upon the Hoghouse Neck, formerly the lot of Mr. Thomas Dummer, containing by estimation twelve acres, more or less, lying between the lot of Robert Ring and Mr. Hook's farm, butting upon the meadows with the north-west, and upon the land that was formerly Rolfe Blesdale's with the south-east, all the said land now lying and being within the bounds of

the town of Salisbury aforesaid. *Provided also*, that the said Lieutenant Pike, his heirs and assigns, are to enjoy a highway through Mr. Dow's neck of upland (adjoining to the said meadows) unto the said meadow forever."—August 4th, 1651.

Lieutenant Robert Pike of Salisbury bought, "for a valuable sum," of Anthony Stanian and wife Anne, "a planting-lot containing by estimation six acres, more or less, with an addition thereunto, the said land lying and being within the bounds of the town of Salisbury, and bounded with the heads of Mr. Monday's, John Sanders's, Mrs. Biles's, Robert Ring's, and part of Mr. Dow's planting-lots on the one side, and with the lands of Mr. Winsley, John Rolfe, Widow Browne, Joseph Moyce, John Eaton, Sr., and Richard Wells on the other part (always provided there be a highway left through the addition where the town of Salisbury shall appoint)."—6th d., 11th m., 1657.

Lieutenant Robert Pike, for forty shillings, bought of Edward French of said Salisbury about one half-acre of fresh marsh, "upon the north side of the Little River, lying encompassed with the ditch of the said Edward French, and a point of upland and the Little River, and part of the said Lieutenant Robert Pike's meadow, the said meadow lying within the bounds of the town of Salisbury."—March 31st, 1658.

Lieutenant Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of Thomas Rowell and wife Marjery of Andover, "all my farm in the said town of Salisbury, containing by estimation six-score acres, be it more or less, viz.: twenty acres of it was granted by the town of Salisbury, twenty acres more bought of John Bayley of the town of Salisbury, forty acres bought of Mr. Samuel Hale, and forty acres bought of Mr. Thomas Bradbury, which was some time John Hoges's; all which

several parcels of land are situate, lying, and being within the bounds of Salisbury, up at the new town, butting at the one end upon the farms belonging to the said old town, which buts upon the great pond toward the north-east, and butting at the other end upon Merrimack River toward the south-west, having the land of goodman Wells toward the south-east, and the land common toward the north-west."—April 5th, 1659.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of William Huntington, May 20th, 1660, "about twenty acres in the River division, Amesbury, and confirmed by deed by said Huntington's only son and heir, John Huntington, situated between the lands of said Pike and Samuel Foot and on Haverhill highway, granted originally to Walter Taylor," etc. —August 23d, 1704.

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of Richard Ormsby, of Rehobeth, in Plymouth Colony, "all his right, etc., in lands, meadows, and commonages, with all the privileges, appurtenances, and immunities thereunto belonging or appertaining, to any part or parcel of the aforesaid lands."—May 12th, 1663. Not acknowledged, but John Ormsby, eldest son of said Richard Ormsby, then deceased, "saith that he was present when his father did seal and deliver this deed, and did see him do it as his act and deed taken upon oath, November 18th, 1664, before Samuel Symonds; and said John Ormsby quit-claimed it September 10th, 1705, and acknowledged it September 17th, 1705."

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of William Barnes and wife Rachel of Salisbury, "about two acres in Salisbury new town, on Merrimack River, it being the grantor's portion of the land purchased of the Indians, bounded by the highway westerly, and by Robert Pike northerly."—Witnessed by Dorothy Pike, July 10th, 1662.

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of William Huntington and wife Joanne twenty acres upland, "being in Salisbury new town, abutting upon a lot of John Weed southerly, and the common land northerly; bounded westerly with a lot of Edmund Elliott, and easterly with the lot of Walter Taylor."—July 20th, 1662.

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury, planter, bought of Mrs. Rebecca Worcester of Salisbury, "about three acres of fresh marsh, which had been given to her former husband, Mr. Henry Bylie, by the town of Salisbury, bounded with a creek running between the marsh of Mr. Edward Woodman in part, and the marsh of John Rolfe in part, and the said purchased premises running to the upland, and with the lot of John Clough south-easterly, and the rest of the said marsh encompassed with the little neck of upland."—April 1st, 1663.

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of Robert Ring of said Salisbury "about sixty acres, on the east side of way over the old bridge, bounded southerly from said bridge by the land of the said Captain Robert Pike in part, and by the lot of Mr. Worcester in part, and by the land of George Goldwire in part, and by the meadow-land of Edward French, and by the meadow-lot of the said Pike, which he bought of Mr. Chris. Batt, sometime of Salisbury aforesaid, deceased, and from thence northerly to the accomplishment of the said sixty acres, abutting easterly upon Mr. Wheelwright's ditch, so called, from that end of it joining to the said Robert Pike's meadow, bounded northerly by the cow common of the land."—30th d., 9th m., 1665.

Captain Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of John Weed and wife Deborah "ten acres of upland, lying and being in the limits of the town of Amesbury aforesaid, butting northerly upon the lots of Samuel Foot, Walter Taylor,

and William Huntington, westerly upon a lot of Edward Elliott, southerly on Merrimack River, easterly in part upon the land called Jones's Hill and partly upon the lot of William Barnes; also, a lot of upland containing by estimation twenty acres, more or less, as it is laid out by the lot-layers, unto Ed. Elliott, bounded easterly in part by my aforementioned ten acres of upland and partly by a lot of Samuel Foot, northerly by the farms, westerly by a lot of John Colby, now in possession of Tho. Nicols, and southerly by Merrimack River; as also five small lots in that which is called the Indian field, one of them being my own, another that was Jarett Hadon's, another that was John Colby's, another that was George Martin's, another that was William Huntington's, as they were laid out and bounded, all abutting southerly upon Merrimack River."—March 18th, 1670.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of Theo. Atkinson, Sr., of Boston, "a certain parcel or tract of upland lying and being within the precincts of the town of Boston aforenamed, containing twenty rods, and bounded as hereafter is expressed, viz.: Four rods in breadth upon the front, facing the highway leading up to the Fort Hill, and so five rods back in length, bounded with the land of me, the said Theo. Atkinson, upon the east, north, and west."—November 9th, 1672.

"MAJOR PIKE: RICHARD DOLE *of Newbury, merchant, sendeth* GREETING. Know ye, that whereas my dear uncle, John Rolfe, formerly of Salisbury, in the county of Norfolk, in New England aforesaid, yoeman, did in his lifetime sell unto Major Robert Pike, of Salisbury aforesaid, all a certain parcel of land, being by estimation fourteen acres, be it more or be it less, as it is granted, entered in the records of Salisbury and bounded easterly and part north-

erly by land called Mr. Monday's pasture, part northerly and westerly by land formerly William Partridge's, and now in the possession of the said Pike, and on all other sides also encompassed with the lands of the said Pike's pasture; all situate and being upon a neck of land called the Hoghouse Neck, or leading toward it, and on the north side thereof, in Salisbury." Rolfe deceased without giving a deed, and Dole deeded it to Major Pike, July 8th, 1678.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of William Sargeant of Amesbury, merchant, "two parcels of land in Amesbury, bounded by Merrimack River southerly, and by other land of said Pike northerly, commonly called Jane's Hill or field, which was by her reserved when the rest was by the other Indians sold to the town of Amesbury, and afterward by her or hers sold unto me;" about six acres, "bounded also westerly by a ten-acre lot now in the hands or possession of said Pike, which was formerly John Weed's. The other piece contains two acres, more or less; is the most easterly lot of all the small lots that were divided among the then inhabitants of that land, which the said town bought of the Indians within the township of Amesbury, at the place called the Indian Ground, by Merrimack River, it being the lot that was laid out to my dear father, William Sargeant, and the last lot in number," etc.—Witnessed by Robert Pike, Jr., June 5th, 1685, and recorded March 27th, 1711.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, in the late county of Norfolk, bought of Peter Coffin of Dover, in the county of Dover and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, "a parcel of land he had of George Goldwire of Salisbury, May 14th, 1678, which consisted of half of the planting-lot of about twenty acres, lying and being upon the east of the said

Goldwire's house-lot, and upon the west of Mr. Worcester's planting-lot, and upon the north of the said Goldwire's meadow-lot; as also the one full and complete half part of the great meadow-lot lying at the south end of the said planting-lot, butting upon the west side of the Little River and upon the north side of the Great Neck, the whole being sixteen acres, as by the records doth appear. The said lands now lying and being within the bounds of the town of Salisbury aforesaid, originally belonging to Mr. Samuel Dudley, as by the grant of the said town doth appear."—October 16th, 1686.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury bought of John French, Sr., of said Salisbury, "all that lot or proportion of land granted and laid out to me, the said John French, in that division of land lying and being in the east division of land laid out to the commoners of Salisbury aforesaid, being the first lot in number, as by said Salisbury town book of record doth appear; the said lot or division of land containing twenty-five acres, be the same more or less, and bounded as followeth: with the lot or division of land laid out to the original right of John Ellsly on the northerly side, and on the southerly side the great plain lots, and with the westerly end butting upon a highway, and the easterly end butting upon the country road; the aforementioned premises lying and being within the bounds and township of Salisbury."—June 17th, 1691.

EXCHANGES OF LAND WITH THOMAS BRADBURY.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, planter, "for a valuable consideration in land, made sure unto me by a deed of sale under the hand and seal of Mr. Thomas Bradbury of the same town, bearing even date with these presents, confirms unto the said Thomas Bradbury all my ten-acre lot of

upland, be the same more or less, now lying and being within the bounds of the town of Salisbury aforesaid, lying between the land of Thomas Carter and the land now in the hands of John Bayley in part, and land in the hands of John Stevens in part, butting with one end upon Richard Goodale's rye lot, and with the other end upon the Powow River."—May 4th, 1668. Witnessed by John Pike, Robert Pike, Jr., and Dorothy Pike. Acknowledged by Major Robert Pike, 25th d., 10th m., 1671.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, in consideration of a three-acre meadow-lot received of Thomas Bradbury, "butting upon the east end of Robert Pike's planting-lot, lying in a cove, unto a tree upon the utmost point of upland, and so to a mark stake upon the west side of a creek which compasses all the easternmost side of the said meadow-lot, sold a four-acre meadow-lot in the great meadow, toward the beach point between the meadow-lots of Mr. Henry Monday and Robert Ring, butting with one end upon the Great Neck, and with the other end upon the marsh, granted to Mr. Samuel Winsley;" said meadows in Salisbury.—April 24th, 1657. Acknowledged 25th d., 10th m., 1671.

SALES OF LAND.

Lieutenant Robert Pike of Salisbury, and wife Sarah, "for seven pounds fourteen shillings, sold Richard Bartlett of Newbury five acres of upland, be it more or less, as it lieth in Newbury, near Merrimack, being bounded with the four-acre house-lot that the town laid out to John Enery on the east, and the land of said Richard Bartlett on the west, and Merrimack River on the north, and the high street on the south."—April 22d, 1652.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, "for seven pounds, sold Isaac Green of said Salisbury two pieces of Hall's farm in

Salisbury; one piece of about one acre, bounded southerly by Blackwater River, easterly by land that was formerly Samuel Getchel's, now in the possession of said Green, and the rest of it encompassed with a creek. As also a piece of about two acres, bounded westerly and northerly with the meadow of John Clough, easterly by land formerly John Rolfe's, southerly by land now in possession of Benjamin Allen."—September 8th, 1680.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury County, late of Norfolk, now Essex, gentleman, who, in the year 1687, gave unto his seven children meadow and marsh in Salisbury, now deeds to his daughter Mary, wife of John Allen, "the second lot in number from said Monday's Creek, bounded easterly by the land of her sister, Sarah Stockman, and westerly by land of Moses Pike, abutting southerly upon the said Merrimack River, and northerly by meadow of my own as aforesaid; all the above-said land containing three acres, being part of a town grant to him in 1641."—February 15th, 1691.

Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, for twenty-five pounds in money, sold Benjamin Allen of same town a house and about four acres of land in Salisbury, which he had of Mott and Winsley, "bounded with the street on the southerly side, and on the northerly side the land of Samuel French, and on the westerly the land formerly of William Allen, Sr., late deceased, and on the easterly with a highway or a lane that leads to Samuel French's house, with all rights," etc.—Signed by Major Pike and his wife, Martha Pike, May 19th, 1692.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, gentleman, for forty-five pounds sterling of lawful silver money of New England, sold to Lieutenant John Barnard and Richard Currier, of the town of Amesbury, "all that lot of upland

lying and being in the township of Amesbury, and being by grant fifty acres, lying between the upper end of the upper range of lots and the great pond in the division of land on the west side of the Powow River, as by Salisbury town book of records."—March 11th, 1698–9, in the eleventh year of the reign of William the Third.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury sold to his daughter, Dorothy Light, formerly of Portsmouth, then of Newbury, meadow and flat lying between Hoghouse Creek and Monday's Creek in Salisbury, viz.: "one seventh part of said meadow and flat, as it was laid out and divided among my seven children, being the fourth lot in number, bounded on the west or north-west side by the lot of my son John, on the east or north-east side by the lot of my son Moses Pike, butting at the upper end upon other meadow of my own, and at the lower end upon Merrimack River."—Witnessed by John and Robert Pike, July 10th, 1698, and acknowledged by Major Pike, May 11th, 1704.

Robert and son, Rev. John Pike, deeded to Samuel and Thomas Weed of Amesbury, "one messuage or tract of land, situate, lying and being in Amesbury abovesaid, containing by estimation seventy acres, be the same more or less, abutted and bounded as followeth, viz.: a lot originally appertaining to Edmund Elliott, deceased, formerly sold to Major Robert Pike by John Weed, late of Amesbury, deceased, bounded with the lot originally of John Colby, deceased, on the west, a highway on the north, a lot originally of William Huntington, deceased, on the east, and Merrimack River on the south, and so much of said lot of William Huntington above-said, bounded with said lot of Edmund Elliott on the west, a highway on the north, and with the lot originally of Walter Taylor, deceased, on the east, and with part of a ten-acre lot origi-

nally of said John Weed on the south, and part of said ten-acre lot bounded with said Elliott's lot on the west, said Huntington's on the north, and the remaining part of said ten-acre lot on the east, and Merrimack River on the south. We mean and intend the whole of said Elliott's lot, and so much of said Huntington's lot and such part of said ten-acre lot as is interjacent and included within the line, as the range shall carry it, from a white oak-tree to a red oak-tree, as they now stand marked on the east side of the demised premises, extended throughout the said tract or parcel of land in or by this instrument mentioned or demised, unto Merrimack River. To have," etc.—October 13th, 1704.

Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, for fifteen pounds sold to Deacon and Doctor Humphrey Bradstreet of Newbury, "about fifteen acres, at a place in Amesbury, the Indian grounds, bounded easterly by a lot of land formerly Enoch Greenleaf's, since Mr. Clark's, and now in the possession of the aforesaid Doctor Bradstreet, southerly by Merrimack River, westerly by land known by the name of Threescore Acres, and northerly by the rest of the Indian land." —March 18th, 1703.

Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, "in consideration of fifty pounds in hand paid, and by bill secured to be paid unto me, the said Pike, or my beloved daughter, Elizabeth Carr, our heirs or assigns, by George Wathen of Amesbury, in the county of Essex, sold to said Wathen a parcel of land in Amesbury, which said Pike bought of Thomas Rowell, about fifty acres, lying in between the land now called by the name of Clark's lot on the west, and land now in the possession of Samuel Clough on the east, abutting southwardly upon Merrimack River, northerly as the lots do range from the stump of the pine-tree by the high-

way; bounded eastwardly by the lot of my son, Moses Pike, and westwardly by the lot of my daughter, Sarah Stockman, now in the possession of Mr. Humphrey Bradstreet."—August 19th, 1703.

Major Robert Pike, previous to his decease, sold to Thomas Flanders of Salisbury a lot of about thirty acres in Salisbury, "bounded northerly upon a river commonly called Back River, southerly upon the highway; bounded easterly by a lot laid out to the right of Mr. Samuel Winslow, now in possession of Philip Flanders, Sr.; bounded westerly by a lot originally laid out to Robert Downer, and gave him, the said Flanders, a sufficient bill of sale, legally acknowledged, which was casually burned in the burning of his mother's house;" and Major Pike's son, Rev. John, gave said Thomas Flanders a new deed of the same, November 16th, 1708.

DISPOSITION OF HIS ESTATE DURING HIS LIFE.

Gifts to his son John.—MAJOR ROBERT PIKE *of Salisisbury, gentleman, sendeth* GREETING: "Know ye, that whereas I have been for many years past possessed of a certain tract of upland and swamp, situate, lying, and being within the township of Amesbury, lying upon the river Merrimack, southerly or south-easterly or south-westerly (as we account), and a highway or common lands, in part, and in part upon the pond farms northerly; being bounded easterly by Richard Wells's land, now in the possession of Samuel Clough, and westerly by a lot of John Colby's, now in the possession of Thomas Nichols, within the compass of which is contained a twenty-acre lot of Enoch Greenleaf, now Mrs. Clark's of Newbury, or her heirs (to which I claim no right); all which prementioned lands, etc., being all purchased of several men, except sixty acres

by grant from the said town, as by the said grant and bill of sale may appear, have been by me given to my seven children, to be divided and proportioned among them according to the circumstances thereof, namely, to my sons, John, Robert, and Moses, and to my daughters, Sarah, Dorothy, Mary, and Elizabeth; which division being now made, and their several parts appointed and numbered, beginning at Samuel Clough's, which is called the first in number, and ending at Thomas Nichols's, being the seventh lot in number, in the bounding of which lots they did leave out a piece upon the north end of their division westward, because it was longer than the other lands eastward; *and whereas* my son John Pike's part is the seventh lot in number: Now know ye, that I, the said Robert Pike, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving, but more especially my natural love and affection unto my said son John Pike, and promise on his marriage, have given, granted, aliened, enfeoffed ..... unto him, my said son, all that part and parcel of the said tract of land contained in the said seventh lot, as it is now laid out and bounded, abutting southerly (in account) upon Merrimack River, northerly upon the land unlaid out or divided, as aforesaid, westerly by the land of Thomas Nichols, and easterly by the land of his, containing fifty acres, be it more or be it less, together with all and singular the privileges," etc.—January 20th, 1693.

Major Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, upon a contract of marriage of his son, John Pike of Dover, gave said son "all my tract of land lying at and about the Little River, commonly so called, in the town of Salisbury, both upland and meadow, within fence and without, with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging ..... to come to the actual possession of it immediately after

the decease of said Major Pike; and Major Pike furthermore engaged that the flats and broken meadow lying on Merrimack River, between Hoghouse Creek and Monday's Creek, as also all my upland lying upon or near Merrimack River at Amesbury, as also all my tract of land lying at or near Quinebaug, shall be divided equally among all my children, and my son John shall have his share thereof, namely, one seventh part of that at Amesbury, and an equal proportion of that at Quinebaug. I do also engage that in the division and disposal of the rest of my estate I will consider the said John," etc.—August 10th, 1694.

Major Robert Pike confirmed to his son John his, the third in number, commencing at Hoghouse Creek and numbering seven, given to his said Robert's seven children, etc. —May 10th, 1700.

Gift from his wife Martha to his son John.—Martha, with consent of her then husband, Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, made over to his son, Rev. John Pike of Dover, a meadow, etc., that was given to her by her former husband, George Goldwire, late of Salisbury, deceased, March 15th, 1676 (the other half of said meadow having been purchased of said George Goldwire by said Major Robert Pike, etc.), to come into possession after her decease, he paying her sister Greeley and her cousin, Ephraim Winsley, Sr., etc., certain legacies.—November 20th, 1700. Acknowledged December 2d, 1700.

Gifts to his son Moses.—Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, had given his son, Moses Pike, a piece of land in Amesbury (a part of the same he purchased of Thomas Rowell, estimated at fifty acres, bounded southerly by the River Merrimack, westerly by the land of Elizabeth Carr, northerly by the town highway, and easterly by the lot of Richard Wells, now in the possession of Samuel Clough),

about the 10th of December, 1693, delivered in the presence of William and Sanders Carr, and the deed, said to be lost, was confirmed by said Robert; and a piece of marsh, also, called Hoghouse meadow, bounded south by the River Merrimack, east by the lot of John Allen, west by the lot of John Light, and north by other marsh of the grantor's own, the fifth lot in number.—June 29th, 1700. Acknowledged November 7th, 1701.

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, county of Essex, formerly Norfolk, for good causes, "but more especially for that natural love and affection which I bear unto my son, Moses Pike, of the town and county aforesaid, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, ratified, and confirmed, and do by these presents fully and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, ratify, and by way of gift confirm unto him, my said son Moses, a certain tract or parcel of upland, situate in the township of Salisbury, in that part of my pasture lying between Mr. William Hook's farm and a ridge commonly called Eagle's-nest Hill, which tract of upland is bounded easterly, southerly, and westerly, by Mr. William Hook's farm, till it comes to a place called William Brown's Cove; westerly and north-westerly by the tide-meadows, northerly and easterly by that ridge of land called the Eagle's-nest Hill, running over upon the south side of said ridge in a straight line from the Hoghouse meadows to tide-meadows, mentioned before, within which compass is contained a certain lot of upland formerly belonging to Abraham Morrell of Salisbury, but now in the possession of Dr. Humphrey Bradstreet of Newbury, and is therefore exempted out of this deed; also, the one-half of my Hoghouse meadow not yet divided and already disposed of, with a right of commonage which formerly belonged to my uncle, John Coles, of Salisbury, deceased, all the afore-

said tract or parcel of upland, meadow, and commonage withal. The use of which land and meadow, so far as he stands in need of it, I allow him at present, unless I shall have need to use some part of it myself, and the full enjoyment and possession of the whole premises immediately after my decease."—September 28th, 1703, and in the second year of her Majesty's reign, our sovereign lady, Queen Anne. Acknowledged May 11th, 1704.

Gift to his daughter Elizabeth.—Major Robert Pike, Esq., gave to his seven children, namely, three sons and four daughters, in 1687, in part of portion or right, a certain piece of meadow or marsh in Salisbury, bounded by Merrimack River southerly, a great creek (called Monday's Creek) easterly, the Hoghouse Creek westerly, and the other meadow or marsh of his own northerly; and on June 30th, 1693, he made the division and set-off to his daughter Elizabeth, then wife of William Carr, and made his son John Pike of Dover, New Hampshire, her trustee: "all that part of meadow or marsh belonging to her in the prementioned division, being the sixth lot in number from Monday's Creek, bounded easterly by the lot of her brother John Pike, and westerly by the lot that was formerly her brother Robert Pike's, abutting southerly upon the said Merrimack River, and northerly upon mine own meadow, as aforesaid; all the above-said seventh part or division of meadow containing three acres, more or less, being part of a town grant to me in the year 1641, with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging; and also a certain lot of meadow lying in that which is commonly called the tide-meadow, formerly bought of Mrs. Worcester, bounded westerly or south-westerly upon a creek that divides it from a lot of meadow which was formerly Mr. Edward Woodman's, and southerly or south-easterly upon a lot formerly

in possession of John Clough; the rest of said marsh encompassed with a little neck of upland containing three acres, more or less, with a certain tract of upland adjoining to it, beginning at a marshy or miry creek to the southward, and running eastward upon a straight line over the whole pasture till it comes to a stake or marked tree, that shall be the bounds of it, at Daniel Moody's pasture; the rest of it northerly being bounded in part by a lot of the same pasture lately given to my daughter Sarah Stockman, and in part by the planting-lots of Philip Greeley, being in estimation twenty-five acres, more or less," to be her children's after her, etc.—Sworn to in court September 30th, 1712, after the decease of said Major Robert Pike, by the witnesses, Wymond Bradbury and Sarah Stockman.

Gives large tracts of Indian lands to his daughters Elizabeth and Sarah.—Major Robert Pike and wife Sarah of Salisbury gave to their "dear and well-beloved children, John Stockman of the town of Salisbury, in New England aforesaid, merchant, and Sarah his wife, one sixty-fourth part of the land bought by Governor Endicott and others of the Indians, May 14th, 1678. Witnessed by Robert and Moses Pike. This land (about thirty miles from north to south and fifteen miles from east to west) extended "from Uncas's land lying westward, Pequot and the Narragansetts' country lying southward, to the outmost bounds, northward and eastward, that any of the said Haguntus and Alumpus lands do reach."

Major Robert Pike and wife Sarah gave to their beloved children, William Carr of Salisbury, shipwright, and Elizabeth his then wife, one-eighth part of a tract of land given by Haguntus and Alumpus Indians to Gov. John Endicott, Esq., John Winthrop, Esq., Josiah Huse, and Amos Richardson, which eighth Major Pike bought of said John En-

dicott, Esq. (as per "Records of the Public Notary for the Massachusetts Colony," book 3, pp. 80, 81).

A gift to his daughter Sarah confirmed.—Major Pike confirmed to his daughter Sarah, widow of John Stockman, the third lot, about fifty acres, a part of the land in Amesbury, between lands of Samuel Clough and Thomas Nichols, Sr.; also, one-seventh of a lot of marsh-land by Merrimack River, between Hoghouse Creek and Monday's Creek, etc.—April 15th, 1700.

A gift to the husband of his daughter Mary.—To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come, ROBERT PIKE, *Esq., of the town of Salisbury, in the county of Norfolk, now called Essex, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, sendeth* GREETING: "*Whereas* I, the said Robert Pike, did, in or about the year 1680, give in portion with my daughter, Mary Pike, a certain parcel of upland, containing by estimation forty acres, be it more or less, now lying and being in the township of Salisbury, bounded southerly by the highway leading from Salisbury to Amesbury, westerly by a way going toward Batt's Plain, northerly by town's common, and easterly by a lot of John Severance, now in possession of Benjamin Eastman, and did at the same time give unto my said daughter and her husband, John Allen, to confirm the said land unto them and their children begotten between them, of which land my said daughter was possessed before in the time of her former husband, though no writing then given; *and whereas,* in the forementioned deed of gift to the said John Allen and his wife and their children there were certain encumbrances upon it, by way of entail, to others of my family, in case of a failure of issue in the said Allen, his wife or children, which entail might hinder the sale of it to any other; *and whereas* now, by the provi-

dence of God, my said daughter is dead, and her son, Joseph Andrews, whom she had by her first husband, has been long unheard of, whereby it is doubtful that he is living; *and whereas*, there are but three children living here, namely, Sarah, Mary, and Hannah Allen, and by reason of some more than ordinary calamity befalling the said family that does necessarily call for the sale of some land for the support or recruit of the family: Now know ye, that I, the said Robert Pike, at the earnest request of the said John Allen and his aforesaid children, have taken off the said —— by the entail, and do by these presents, for myself, my heirs and assigns, executors and administrators, fully, freely, and absolutely give, grant, and confirm the land aforesaid unto the said John Allen and assigns and successors. To have and to hold, with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances, this fourteenth day of April, one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, in the eighth year of his Majesty's reign."—Acknowledged by Robert Pike, Esq., before D. Pierce, Justice of the Peace, April 15th, 1700.

The within Lieutenant John Allen sold the above land to Thomas Evans, April 25th, 1696, and the same day acknowledged it before Robert Pike, Justice of the Peace. —Recorded July 5th, 1701.

Gives power of attorney to his son John.—Robert Pike, Esq., "being now aged, and not so well able to manage my affairs as formerly, do . . . . . appoint my trusty and well-beloved son, John Pike of Dover, ... my true and lawful attorney."—May 11th, 1704.

Gifts to his grandson Robert.—Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, gentleman, and Rev. John Pike of Dover, "for the natural affection which we bear unto Robert Pike, son of Robert Pike of Salisbury (late deceased), our grandson

and kinsman, sell unto the said Robert . . . . . a certain tract of upland, situate in the township of Amesbury, lying in that which is called the River division, being in estimation sixty acres, bounded as followeth, namely, by the land of Doctor Bradstreet southerly, westerly by the land of Samuel and Thomas Wood, easterly by a highway, northerly by Haverhill highway."—July 19th, 1702.

Major Robert Pike, gentleman, and John Pike, clerk, "deed to their grandchild and kinsman, Robert, the son of Robert Pike of Salisbury, deceased, a certain tract of upland in Salisbury, lying in that which is commonly called Major Pike's pasture, between the Hoghouse meadow and tide-meadow in Salisbury, being by estimation fifty acres, more or less; bounded westerly by the Hoghouse, southerly by the upland in same pasture, granted to his uncle, Moses Pike, as it runs in a straight line from Hoghouse meadow on the south side of the Eagle's-nest Hill to the tide-meadow; bounded westerly or north-westerly by the tide-meadow; bounded northerly in part by the land given to Elizabeth Carr, and partly upon the land of Daniel Moody, commonly called his pasture. Also a certain tract of meadow adjoining to the east end of the upland, namely, the residue or other half of the Hoghouse meadow, as it is distinguished from that commonly called the flats, and not formerly disposed of, which meadow is bounded easterly by a certain creek called Monday's Creek, southerly by the other part of the Hoghouse meadow formerly given to his uncle, Moses Pike; bounded westerly or north-westerly by the upland mentioned in this deed, and northerly or north-easterly by the meadow of Daniel Moody of Salisbury, or a creek running between said Monday's meadow."—October 19th, 1704.

Gives him the homestead.—Major Robert Pike of Salis-

bury and John Pike of Dover, clerk, "for good reasons and considerations us thereunto moving, but more especially that natural love and affection which we have toward our grandson and kinsman, Robert Pike, the son of Robert Pike, late of Salisbury, deceased, have given, granted, demised, passed over, and confirmed, and do by these presents fully and absolutely give, grant, demise, pass over, and by way of gift confirm unto the said Robert Pike a certain lot of upland, situate in the town of Salisbury, being the homestead or dwelling-place of his grandfather, Major Robert Pike; but the commonage or common right of said Major Pike in Salisbury, formerly supposed to be pertaining to it, is not herewith given to the said Robert Pike, because it was otherwise given and disposed of many years agone. Which lot of upland, being in estimation about or between three or four acres, be it more or less, is bounded northerly by the home-lot of Mr. Samuel Dudley, sold to Mr. George Goldwire, easterly by the home-lot of John French, southerly and westerly by the town common adjoining or lying between the land here given and the country highway. All the aforesaid lot of upland, together with all buildings, orchards, gardens, fences, remaining upon it, springs of water, and other conveniences belonging to it, are hereby given unto the said Robert Pike, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, forever. To have, etc. The same to come into his possession at the end of two years and six months after the decease of his aforesaid grandfather and grandmother, namely, two years and six months after the decease of the longest surviver of them. Moreover, if the said Robert Pike shall die without any natural and legitimate issue, that then the above granted land shall return to the next heir of his grandfather Pike's family."—October 26th, 1705. Confirmed October 26th, 1706.

CONFIRMS CERTAIN GIFTS.

Said Major Robert and Rev. John Pike confirmed to said Robert Pike, October 13th, 1704, a certain tract of upland in Salisbury, "lying in that which is commonly called Major Pike's pasture, between the Hoghouse meadow and tide-meadow, in Salisbury, being in estimation fifty acres, more or less; bounded westerly by the Hoghouse, southerly by the land in same pasture granted to his uncle, Moses Pike, as it runs in a straight line from the Hoghouse meadow, on the south side of the Eagle's-nest Hill, to the tide-meadow; bounded westerly or north-westerly by the tide-meadow; bounded northerly in part by the land given to Elizabeth Carr, and partly upon the land of Daniel Moody, commonly called his pasture. Also, a certain tract of meadow adjoining to the east end of the upland, namely, the residue or other half of the Hoghouse meadow, as it is distinguished from that commonly called the flats, and not formerly disposed of; which meadow is bounded easterly by a certain creek, called Monday's Creek, southerly by the other part of the Hoghouse meadow formerly given to his uncle Moses Pike; bounded westerly or north-westerly by the upland mentioned in this deed, and northerly or north-easterly by the meadow of Daniel Moody of Salisbury, or a creek running between said Moody's meadow and this. All the above-said tracts of upland and meadow, with all privileges," etc.

Major Robert Pike confirmed to his grandson Robert, son of Robert Pike, the lot he formerly gave to his said son Robert, namely, the first of seven lots lying between Hoghouse Creek and Monday's Creek, which were given to his seven children in May, 1700.—This dated May 13th, 1705.

Gifts to his grandson, Sanders Carr.—Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, and wife Martha, "in consideration of that natural love and affection which I have and do bear unto my well-beloved grandson, Sanders Carr, of the same town, county, and province above-said, give said Sanders Carr all that my lot of upland on the great plain, on the north of the Little River, lying and being in the township of Salisbury, and granted to me by the said town, bounded as followeth: easterly with land formerly Mr. John Sanders's, westerly with land laid out to Mr. Francis Dove, one end abutting southerly upon a brook between the great plain and the little plain, so called, and the other end abutting northerly upon a highway; all the said lot of upland, be it twenty acres, more or less, as it was laid out and bounded, with all the rights, privileges, and appurtenances thereunto belonging. To have," etc.—May 13th, 1699.

Major Robert Pike gave to his grandson, Sanders Carr, "a certain lot of meadow, situate in the township of Salisbury, in that division commonly called the tide-meadows, lying on the north or north-westerly side of the little neck commonly called Major Pike's pasture, being in account six acres, more or less; bounded southerly by a small trench running between this meadow and a lot belonging to Richard Dole of Newbury (formerly Captain Stephen Greenleaf's), westerly by a small creek running between this and meadow in the possession of Jonathan Woodman of Newbury, and westerly by a ditch against the meadow of Philip Greeley; bounded northerly and easterly by a rail fence standing between this meadow and the upland. All the above-said lot of meadow, with all and singular the privileges," etc.—June 1st, 1705.

He sold for twenty pounds, etc., to said grandson, "four parcels of upland, lying and being in the township of Salis-

bury; all the said upland lying and being in the last division of land laid out in the town of Salisbury, on the easterly side of the way leading to Hampton—one of the said parcels of land being laid out to my own original right, being the fifty-second lot in number in that division—containing by estimation ten acres, be the same more or less, as it was laid out and bounded. The second piece or parcel of land was laid out to the original right of Mr. Samuel Dudley, the third to the original right of Thomas Rowell, and the fourth to John Coles; Mr. Samuel Dudley's lot being the fifty-eighth lot in number in the aforesaid division, Thomas Rowell's the thirty-eighth, and John Coles's the forty-third, as may appear on Salisbury town book of records. Each of the said lots contains ten acres, more or less, as they were laid out and bounded to the several rights as aforesaid. To have," etc.—December 29th, 1703.

He also sold to his grandson, Sanders Carr, about twenty acres in Salisbury, "it belonging formerly to Mr. John Sanders, and conveyed to me, and was laid out, together with my twenty acres upon the great plain, so called, in Salisbury aforesaid, by the lot-layers, as may appear by the testimony of John Clough, and the affirmation of William Boswell (who was one of the aforesaid lot-layers); and bounded together with my twenty acres aforesaid, which twenty acres I have formerly given to my grandson, Sanders Carr, and his heirs, bounded together with this twenty acres, which is as followeth: westerly with land formerly of Mr. Francis Dove, easterly with land of Andrew Greeley, northerly upon a highway, and southerly upon the little plain lots near a brook. To have," etc.—May 28th, 1703.

Gift to his grandson, John Stockman.—Major Robert Pike gave to his grandson, John Stockman, of Salisbury, "a certain piece of meadow or cove ground in Goldwire's

cove, which the grantor bought of Captain Coffin of Cocheco in 1686, originally belonging to Mr. Samuel Dudley, as by the record of the town may appear, about four or five acres; bounded westerly and northerly by a certain ditch, commonly called Pressie's ditch, beginning at the end of the swamp between John French's lot and a lot commonly called the rye-field, on Mr. Goldwire's side of the swamp, and so as the said Pressie's ditch runs till it comes to a certain corner or turn, where there is a stake set up, and from the said corner of the ditch to a great pitch-pine-tree standing easterly or south-easterly from said corner of the ditch; bounded on the east or south-east by upland commonly called Mr. Batt's rye-lot, and butting southerly upon a ditch running between Joseph French's land and the said cove. All the above-said meadow or cove land, etc. *Provided* he and his successors shall keep a good fence upon the said Pressie's ditch, and he shall not make sale without first offering it to myself or succeeding heirs at as easy a price as he would sell to any other," etc.—June 1st, 1705.

Gifts to his granddaughter, Hannah Allen.—Major Robert Pike, gentleman, gave to his granddaughter, Hannah Allen, a daughter of John and Mary Allen of Salisbury, deceased, "a certain tract or parcel of land, situate in the township of Amesbury, in that division of land commonly called the River division, which is given in lieu and consideration of that proportion of my land at Amesbury which was intended for her mother, Mary Allen, deceased, and was allotted to the said Hannah in the division of her father Allen's estate, and only as such; and is bounded westerly or north-westerly by a lot of land now in the occupation of Samuel Weed, southerly by Merrimack River, easterly by land now in the occupation of Doctor Hum-

phrey Bradstreet of Newbury, and north-westerly by a tract of land commonly called the threescore acres; . . . . . containing twenty-five acres, be it more or less—being part of the Indian ground and the residue of the ten acres formerly purchased of Lieutenant John Weed, with all and singular the privileges," etc.—July 4th, 1705.

Gift to Richard Smith.—Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, "in consideration not only of the love and good-will that I have and bear, but also the good service that I have had done by Richard Smith of the same town, made over to said Smith lot No. 14, in the first division of cow common meadow laid out to him, said Robert Pike, by the town," etc.—March 26th, 1705.

Appropriates land to pay debts.—Major Robert Pike gave to his son, John Pike, as feoffee in trust, a "certain tract of land in Amesbury, near a place called Harrie's Hill, formerly bought of William Huntington of Amesbury, deceased, being about sixscore acres, to pay the debts of the grantor, and the remainder to be divided among such of my grandchildren as my said feoffer, with the advice of friends, shall judge most convenient; yet reserving to myself liberty and power, during my natural life, to improve, sell, or dispose of said land," etc.—October 13th, 1704.

Major Robert Pike deeded to his son, Rev. John Pike of Dover, "all his part of Mr. George Goldwire's, living in the town of Salisbury, which he bought of Captain Peter Coffin of Piscataqua, October 16th, 1686, namely, one full and complete half part of his planting-lot, and the like part of his great meadow, originally belonging to Mr. Samuel Dudley, as by the grant of said town of Salisbury, that said son might pay all the debts of the grantor at present, and that might hereafter appear," etc.—June 1st, 1705.

ESTATE OF HIS SON ROBERT.

Among the Essex County Court records is found the following, under date of January, 1691, and September, 1694: Major Pike's son Robert, having deceased, he petitioned as follows: "To the honored County Court, now sitting at Ipswich, 31 : 1st, 1691. The humble motion of your subscriber is to give information to your honors that in September last his son Robert Pike of Salisbury died, leaving a wife and two children, who have always dwelt upon and made use of my estate, of which he had not been particularly possessed of any part thereof as his own, so as to need presenting it upon inventory, or to need to trouble this court with; yet in this time there have been many transactions by him whereby debts may be contracted to him, and due from him, as also some estate that may be properly his own. It is therefore my request to you that you be pleased to order somebody that may inspect the same, and give such account thereof as your honors shall think meet, at request of

"Yours honors' most humble servant,

"Robert Pike."

Again: Major Robert Pike, in a petition dated September 25th, 1694, says: "These are to inform you that in the year 1690 my son, Robert Pike, of Salisbury, died, and left a widow and two children, a boy and a girl; and at the County Court at Ipswich, at the request of the widow, I, the subscriber, presented the case, and had administration granted, I giving bonds to administer according to law; but no bond was then given, or never since, by reason of the change in government. Since which, the widow is married to Mr. William Hook, Jr., of Salisbury, carrying

with her the substance of what was property of her former husband, without giving any account. There are also some debts due to him and from him which want order to look after. I do therefore humbly pray your inspection of the case, so as to order concerning the same and concerning the children. I have often moved the mother and her present husband to look after it, but I do not know that they have or will do anything about it.

"Your humble petitioner, ROBERT PIKE."

APPENDIX IV.

ADMINISTRATION ON THE ESTATE OF MAJOR ROBERT PIKE, Esq., OF SALISBURY, DECEASED.

Essex, ss. *John Appleton, Esq., commissioned judge of the probate of wills and granting letters of administration, etc., in said county of Essex, to Mr. John Pike, clerk, of Dover, in the Province of New Hampshire, eldest son of Major Robert Pike, Esq., late of Salisbury, deceased intestate, sendeth* GREETING: "Trusting in your care and fidelity, I do by these presents commit unto you power and authority to administer all and singular the goods, chattels, rights, and credits of the said deceased, well and faithfully to dispose of the same, according to law; also to ask, gather, levy, demand, sue for, receive, and recover, all and whatsoever credits of the said deceased which to him, while he lived, and at the time of his death, did appertain and belong; and to pay all debts in which the said deceased stood bound, so far as his goods, chattels, rights, and credits can extend, according to the true value thereof; and to make a true and perfect inventory of all and singular the goods, chattels, rights, and credits of the said deceased; and to exhibit the same in the register's office of said county on or before the first Monday of August next ensuing; and to render a plain and true account of your administration, upon oath, on or before the first Monday of said August, which will be in the year of our Lord God 1707. And I do by these presents ordain, constitute, and appoint you

administrator of all and singular the goods, chattels, rights, and credits of the deceased aforesaid.

"In testimony hereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of said office to be affixed.

"Dated at Ipswich, 21st May, Anno Domini 1707.

"JOHN APPLETON.

"DANIEL ROGERS, *Register.*"

Rev. John Pike of Dover gave his bond for three hundred pounds, current money in New England, with James Ring and Samuel Joy of Salisbury for sureties, dated May 22d, 1707.

An inventory of the estate, both personal and real, of Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, late deceased, taken the 14th of May, 1708.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis: His wearing clothes and a broadcloth coat.	2	0	0
To a castor hat, half worn	0	10	0
To a homespun coat, at	0	5	0
To two coverlids, 15*s.*; one bolster, 13*s.* 6*d.*	1	8	6
To curtains and valance	0	16	0
To pewter dishes or plates, andirons and tongs	1	1	0
To an iron kettle and one brass kettle	0	10	0
To three great chairs	0	6	0
To bedstead and cord, 5*s.*; warming-pan, 3*s.*	0	8	0
To a cupboard, 5*s.*; two chests, 5*s.*; a table, 3*s.*	0	13	0
To books, the whole, 6*s.*; to a box, 2*s.*	0	8	0
To a blanket and pillow	0	3	6
To three oxen at £12; to two cows at £4 10*s.*	16	10	0
To twelve sheep	3	12	0
To a lot of meadow at the beach, containing per estimation ten acres, more or less	60	0	0
To a lot of meadow at Getchel's Cove, three acres, more or less	18	0	0
To two acres of meadow, commonly called Batt's lot	9	0	0
Carried forward	115	11	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	115	11	0
To a lot of upland in the Cow-common division, laid out to Rowell's right, twenty acres, more or less	18	0	0
To a lot in Batt's Hill division, ten acres, more or less, laid out to the same right	12	0	0
To a lot in the neck, laid out to the same right	1	10	0
To a lot laid out to the same right in Goodale's Swamp division	8	0	0
To five pounds' worth of land adjoining to Nathaniel Eastman's land, on the easterly side of his farm	5	0	0
To three-quarters of an acre of meadow near Greeley's mill, laid out to the same right	1	10	0
To two acres of meadow, laid out to the same right in a certain cove by the woodside	2	0	0
Richard Ormsby's lot in the Mill division, the one hundred and fifth in number, and in quantity thirty acres	15	0	0
Richard Ormsby's lot in Cane-brook division, the thirty-fourth in number, and in quantity about twenty-five acres	16	0	0
	194	11	0

Appraised by us, whose names are hereunder written.

WYMOND BRADBURY.
JOSEPH TRUE.

Essex, ss. *Mr. John Pike, administrator to the estate of Major Robert Pike, his account of administration on the estate of the said deceased, exhibited before the Honorable John Appleton, Esq., Judge, etc., May* 18*th*, 1708.

The said estate, Cr.

	£	s.	d.
Real estate, as per inventory	166	0	0
Personal, as per inventory	28	11	0
	194	11	0

The said estate, Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To funeral expenses	16	0	0
To Mr. Dearing	9	15	0
To the said administrator, for sundry small debts paid of the said deceased, and which the deceased owed to the administrator, as may appear per book	12	0	0
To Captain Peter Coffin, per demand	20	0	0
To Stephen Huzzey, Nantucket	14	0	0
To Mr. Caleb Cushing	3	0	0
Due to Captain True and his son	2	17	0
Due to Mr. Richard Hubbard	1	7	0
To the relict of the deceased, two cows	4	10	0
To other small debts, demanded by sundry	4	0	0
To bond and letter of administration	0	7	6
To travel with bondsmen to obtain expenses	0	10	0
To travel to exhibit inventory and account	0	6	0
To recording the inventory and oath	0	3	0
To stating and recording the account	0	3	0
To allowing the account, 5*s.*; quietus, 4*s*	0	9	0
Allowed the administrator for time and trouble	2	0	0
To petition and certificate to Superior Court to sell the land	0	2	0
	91	9	0

JOHN PIKE, *Administrator.*

The said account exhibited, accepted, and allowed.

Per JOHN APPLETON, *Probate Judge.*

Attest: DANIEL ROGERS, *Register.*

Essex, SS. *Ipswich, November* 14*th*, 1710. *An account of what debts were due from the estate of Robert Pike, Esq., of Salisbury, and what more is added by his grandson, now administrator.*

	£	s.	d.
By the former administrator's account of debt and charges	92	11	0
More added by Dr. Robert Pike, late administrator. To sundry creditors, as per particulars on file	35	4	5
Carried forward	127	15	5

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	127	15	5
To bond and letter of administration	0	7	6
To journeys to obtain power, exhibit account, and expenses	1	10	0
To stating, allowing, and recording account	0	8	0
To petition and certificate to court to sell land	0	4	0
Allowed administrator for time, trouble, etc., £6; quietus, 4*s.*	6	4	0
More due to Mr. John Pike, being by him omitted in consideration of an agreement made between him and his brother and sisters about sundry parcels of land.—Essex, November 14th, Anno Dom. 1710.			
	136	8	11

Before the Honorable John Appleton, Esq., Judge of the Probate, etc., Mr. Robert Pike, administrator to the estate of Robert Pike, Esq., made oath that the above is a just and true account, as far as he hath proceeded therein.

Sworn. Attest: DANIEL ROGERS, *Register.*

Additional account of the estate of Major Robert Pike, Esq., late of Salisbury, deceased, exhibited December 9th, Anno Domini 1713.

The said estate, Cr.

	£	s.	d.
Land unsold	—	–	–
The long lot	—	–	–
Land recovered from Captain March, belonging to Rowell's right	—	–	–
To three-quarter acre of meadow by Greeley's mill, belonging to Rowell's right	—	–	–
By land: Beach lot	60	0	0
Getchell cove	18	0	0
Ormsby lot, in Cane-brook	16	0	0
Rowell's right, by Eastman	16	10	0
	110	10	0
Batt's lot sold	12	0	0
	122	10	0
The said estate, Dr. By the movable estate	28	0	0
	150	10	0

The said estate, Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By the former administrator's account, to sundries.	91	11	0
By the after administrator	35	4	5
By all former charges	8	13	11
To Mr. Huzzey the remainder of a bond	7	11	0
To Captain Greenleaf	0	11	9
Due to former administrator for time and trouble, as far as he proceeded	3	0	0
To charge at the Superior Court to sell land, with time and expenses of two journeys and costs	4	11	0
To five bills of sale	0	10	0
To suit at law with Captain James March, in recovery of land, and charges upon letting fall the first suit, and attorney fees and expenses, in all twelve journeys; in trying for an agreement by consent of parties, no bill of costs filed	7	0	0
Allowed the administrator for further trouble in many journeys, etc	5	0	0
	163	13	1
To court charges, in all	0	15	0
	164	8	1

Ipswich, December 9th, 1713.

Dr. Robert Pike, administrator, exhibited the above-said account, and a quietus is granted to the said administrator, according to law.

Attest: Daniel Rogers, *Register.*

DIVISION OF THE ESTATE OF MAJOR ROBERT PIKE, Esq.

Know all men by these presents: That we, the subscribers, being children or heirs to the remaining estate of Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, deceased, to the end and intent that there may be a full division and final settlement of the lands belonging to the said deceased which have not been before disposed of, and satisfaction made for the debts that are claimed thereupon, do hereby covenant, grant, and agree, in manner and form following, namely:

First. We hereby grant, assign, and set over unto Mrs. Sarah Stockman and Wymond Bradbury the one-half of Goodale's swamp-lot, which was laid out to Thomas Rowell's right, and to Mr. Moses Pike the other half of the aforesaid lot. To have and to hold, to them, their heirs and assigns, forever; which is to be in full of their claims and demands upon the said estate of the said deceased.

Second. We hereby grant, assign, and set over unto Mrs. Elizabeth Carr and her son Sanders the two acres of meadow laid out to Rowell's right in the cow-common, in a cove near the Humility, so called, and the great neck-lot, laid out on said Rowell's right. To them, their heirs and assigns; which is in full of their claims on the estate of the said deceased for portion or debts.

Third. We do hereby grant, assign, and set over to Joseph Stockman, his heirs and assigns, forever, that estate of land lying near to Nathaniel Eastman's, of about five acres, which was laid out to ——, he paying four shillings to John True; which is in full satisfaction for the said Stockman's claims on said estate of the deceased. *Always provided*, that in case any just debts legally appear as due from the estate of the said deceased to any other persons, the above-said grantees shall and do bear and pay their proportion of the same, according to what they have hereby received.

Witness our hands and seals, this 19th day of April, 1714.

ROBERT PIKE,
Adm'r to Major Pike and Ex'r to John Pike.

Witness: Joseph True, Isaac Morrell, Caleb Cushing, Dorothy Light, Elizabeth her E mark Carr, Moses Pike, Robert Pike.

JACOB BRADBURY,
Attorney to Sarah Stockman.

Essex, ss. Mr. Caleb Cushing and Mr. Joseph True both personally appeared before me, the subscriber, and made oath that they saw Dorothy Light, Elizabeth Carr, Moses Pike, Robert Pike, and Jacob Bradbury, attorney to Sarah Stockman, sign, seal, and deliver this above-written instrument to be their voluntary act and deed. And they also saw Isaac Morrell sign as witness, and themselves signed as witnesses at the same time. This 19th day of June, 1714.

Coram, JOSEPH WOODBRIDGE,
Justice of the Peace.

Dr. Robert Pike, as administrator of estate of Major Robert Pike, discharged by the judge June 22d, 1714.

APPENDIX V.

TIMOTHY PIKE'S WILL.

THERE is a grandson of Major Robert Pike whose name nowhere appears in the records of the property left by him. This is Timothy Pike, son of Moses, the youngest son of Major Robert, who was still a child when his grandfather died. Timothy settled in Newburyport, the home of his ancestors. The following will, dated in 1767, bears testimony to his thrift and piety, albeit in those early days he seems to have owned "a negro man, Harry:"

In the name of God, Amen. I, Timothy Pike, of Newburyport, in the county of Essex and Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, blacksmith, being at present weak in body, but of a sound and disposing mind and memory, and being minded to dispose of the estate God has graciously given me, otherwise than the law has provided for the disposition of intestate estates, do make and ordain this, my last will and testament, in manner following: My soul I resign into the hands of God who gave it, and who has a right to call for it whenever he pleases. My body to the earth, its original, by a decent burial, hoping and trusting that it will be raised again by that Saviour whom God has graciously provided, on whom I rely.

Of my worldly substance I dispose in manner following:

Imprimis: I give and devise unto my son, Timothy Pike, my negro man Harry, with his bed, bedstead, and bedding, and all my blacksmith's tools, my gun and sword, and my clock and forty pounds lawful money, to be paid him by my executrix, hereafter named, within twelve months after my decease, or sooner, if she can procure the same out of what is due to me.

I also give him four large silver spoons and one-half of the household goods which I shall not give hereafter to my wife. I also give and devise unto my said son Timothy the whole of the land I own in Windham, and two-thirds of the house and land where I now live in Newburyport, after my wife has left the same, which I shall hereinafter give her. To have the several parcels aforesaid to him and his heirs forever.

Item: I give and devise unto my daughter, Mary Coffin, my silver tankard, my jack, one pair of andirons and two large silver spoons, and forty pounds lawful money, to be paid her by my executrix, hereafter named, in twelve months after my decease, and sooner, if the same can be procured out of what is due to me. I also give unto my said daughter, Mary Coffin, all the land I own in the town of Newbury, and one-third of the house and land in Newburyport, where I now live, after the use I shall give my wife of it. To have the several parcels aforesaid to her, the said Mary Coffin, and her heirs forever.

Item: I give and devise unto my beloved wife the two best feather beds in the house, with the best bedstead, and the bedsteads, underbeds and cords, curtains, and other furniture for beds, except bedclothes, which she brought with her; and a pair of curtain-beds and rails, and the two rugs she brought; one quilt and one of the best coverlids, two blankets, four pair of the best sheets, two bolsters, four pillows, eight pillow-cases, half the tables and chairs in the house, which she shall choose, all the iron-ware of the kitchen, except the jack, the smallest brass kettle, the best skimmer and warming-pan, half the pewter in the house, all the soap and meat, all the corn and meal, except there be more than twenty bushels, the soap-tub cooler, two washing-tubs, the best hog, half the casks and barrels in the house, the earthen-ware, except burned china, a case of drawers, the two best chests and largest looking-glass, the little mortar and pestle, all the candlesticks with all the candles, the best tin tunnel, pepper-box, grater, and salt-cellar, and half the glass vessels in the house, except case of bottles; a pair of bellows and snuffers, six of the best knives and forks, the dumb betty and stove, half the table-cloths, napkins, and towels, and all the wood I shall leave, and my great Bible. I also hereby give her a right to sit herself in my pew in the

meeting-house. I also give her all my books of account, and all my trading stock, and all my money, and all my bonds, notes, and other debts; she paying out of the same my debts and the moneys aforesaid given to my children. I also give her the use and improvement of the house and land where we now dwell, during her natural life, if she shall so long continue my widow. But if she shall marry again, then my will is that she shall have but two-thirds thereof; *provided* she shall keep, at all times, so much of the house in repair as she enjoys. I also give her the pictures, and two large silver spoons, marked $\frac{T.}{S.}\frac{P.}{}$ and all the sieves in the house.

Item: Whatever other estate, real or personal, which I shall die possessed of, I give and devise the same unto my two children, to be equally divided between them—except the house and land where I now live, which, after the decease of my wife, I give two-thirds thereof to my son Timothy and his heirs forever; the other third to my daughter and her heirs forever.

Item: I do hereby constitute and appoint my wife my sole executrix of this my last will and testament.

In witness whereof, I have hereto set my hand and seal, this ninth day of February, in the seventh year of his Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. TIMOTHY PIKE.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the testator as his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who signed as witnesses to the same in his presence, and in the presence of each other.

MARK FITZ,
JAMES PETTENGELL,
JOHN LOWELL, JR.

At a court in Ipswich, March 31st, 1767, this will was proved, and the executrix accepted the trust.

APPENDIX VI.

SOME COURT RECORDS.

"The Court hath ordered that Mr. Samuel Dudley and Lieutenant Robert Pike shall have the hearing and determining of the case now depending in court between Samuel Greenfield and William Hassard, and that it shall be concluded on within this six weeks.—26th d., 7th m., 1648.

"John Sanders and Robert Pike, plaintiffs, against Richard Ayre, £22 debt. Jury find for the plaintiff the bill, and for forbearance, £2 14*s.* 9*d.*, and costs of court, £1.

"Lieutenant Robert Pike doth acknowledge that the jury, at the commission held at Hampton, October, was four years, did not issue the bill of charges concerning the Lieutenant Hassard, but left it to the commissioners to determine.—24th d., 2d m., 1649.

"Robert Pike on the petit jury.—9th d., 2d m., 1650.

"Mr. Samuel Dudley, Robert Pike, and Thomas Bradbury were sworn commissioners for the year ensuing, to end small causes for the town of Salisbury.—9th d., 2d m., 1650.

"Lieutenant Robert Pike bondsman for Chris. Batt.—12th d., 2d m., 1653.

"Captain Robert Pike appointed guardian of Sarah Partridge, 1663, on a commission to divide estate of Joseph Peasley, 1663.

"Captain Pike attorney to Mr. 'Francis Dove of Salisbury, in Old England.'

"Captain Pike on a committee to divide Peasley land. —1664.

"Captain Robert Pike, Mr. Thomas Bradbury, and Richard Wells took the 'freeman's oath,' April 12th, 1664. They took the same oath for the year, April, 1665. They took the same oath, 1669.

"Samuel Winsly, plaintiff, against Captain Robert Pike, defendant, in an action of an appeal from a judgment of the Selectmen of Salisbury in a case of replevin, for undue impounding of his cattle, etc. Plaintiff withdraws, etc.

"Captain Robert Pike, Thomas Bradbury, and Richard Wells chosen commissioners to end small causes in Salisbury for the year.—10th d., 2d m., 1666."

Here follows a curious record:

"Sarah Osgood to be whipped twenty stripes for fornication, within six weeks after she shall be brought to bed, and Captain Pike and Mr. Bradbury to see the execution of it after some lecture-day.—1668.

"Captain Pike, plaintiff, against John Godfrey, for taking a cow, etc., in a house in Amesbury.—13th d., 2d m., 1669.

"Swore allegiance and fidelity before Major Robert Pike, 22d d., 10th m., 1677, among others, Robert Pike, Jr., and Moses Pike.

"Major Pike associate-justice when the court was held at Hampton, 8th d., 8th m., 1672; April 8th, 1673; 14th d., 8th m., 1673; 14th d., 2d m., 1674; 13th d., 8th m., 1674; April 13th, 1675; May 30th, 1676.

"Major Robert Pike chosen and empowered to end small causes in Salisbury.—1672.

"Major Robert Pike, plaintiff, against Edward Gove, de-

fendant, in an action of trespass, cutting wood on his land, etc., near Hampton line.—1673. Same tried again.

"Mr. Peter Coffin, plaintiff, against Major Robert Pike and other officers, in behalf of the troops of Norfolk, defendants, for a debt for supplying the troops when they met at a general training at Boston, about nine years 'sithence.'—1673.

"Major Pike of Salisbury attorney for Bart. Collier, London merchant, etc.—1673.

"Major Pike and Mr. Thomas Bradbury appointed to make county tax.—1673.

"Captain Pike one of the associate-justices.—November 14th, 1676; April 10th, 1677 (absent one court); October 8th, 1678; April 8th, 1679; November 11th, 1679.

"Christopher Palmer, plaintiff, against Major Robert Pike and Major Richard Waldern, for their ordering the keeper of Norfolk prison to set Captain Walter Barefoot at liberty, etc.—November 14th, 1676.

"Major Pike confirmed commissioner to end small causes in Salisbury.—1677; and again, 1678, 1679.

"Sarah Bradbury made choice of her uncle, John Pike, for her guardian.—1677.

"Major Robert Pike sued John Wells for £10.—January 1st, 1677.

"Major Robert Pike, plaintiff, *vs.* Mr. William Hook, defendant, 'for coming upon the said Pike's meadow, called Hoghouse meadow, near the hoghouse, some time in September, 1678, by interrupting and disturbing his mowers in a violent way as they were at work, requiring them to be gone, and claiming the meadow to be his, and thereby endeavoring to disparage the said Pike's right and title to the said meadow,' etc.

"Hook also complains of Pike for coming upon what he called his meadow and plucking up his fence, etc.

"Major Robert Pike sued Samuel Weed of Amesbury, March 13th, 1690–91, for coming up (on his land) with two men besides himself and mowing down the grass one day, claiming the land to be his, thereby endeavoring to defame said Pike's title to said land.

"Major Robert Pike appointed administrator of estate of his son Robert.—April 22d, 1691.

"Ephraim Severance appealed from a judgment by Robert Pike, Esq.—1701.

"Philip Greeley *vs.* Robert Pike, Esq. Jury find for the defendant.—1701."

THE END.